

The Nation

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

To be published October, 1903

FATHER LOUIS HENNEPIN'S "A NEW DISCOVERY"

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With Introduction, Notes, and an Analytical Index

By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1903.

The Week.

The belated and confused news from Bogota appears to signify the rejection of the canal treaty. In reality, it may turn out to be the Colombian way of advancing one step nearer its ratification. Minister Herran at Washington seems guardedly to take that view. So does the counsel of the Panama Company, not inexperienced in the indirections of South American publicists. It was expected that the opponents of the treaty would make a great play for delay, and would assume temporarily defiant postures. This course has long been counted upon by the Washington Administration. But it has also been led to believe that, in the end and after many wry faces and impossible demands and despairing appeals, the treaty would be accepted. It may still reckon upon that result, for all that the latest developments actually imply. It has been well understood that the only real objection of the Colombian Congress to the treaty was that its terms were not as generous, peculiarly, as would have been liked. All the talk about impaired sovereignty has been a blind. Colombian sovereignty was not impaired, strictly speaking, by the treaty, since there was no actual alienation of territory, and the United States was to acquire its rights over the strip by the canal under the form of a lease. But the thing that has rankled in the pure minds of the Colombians is the fact that a rich and lavish country, with a surplus of a couple of hundred millions in its Treasury, was offering them only a beggarly \$10,000,000 when it might as well give \$25,000,000. Indeed, we understand, they have really made it a point of honor with our Government, and consider that they are but flattering us, and paying a tribute to our magnanimity, by intimating that they are ready to accept a sum more consonant with our national grandeur.

From the army point of view, the retirement of Secretary Root will be a great loss to the service. There is a mistaken impression abroad that, because of the establishment of the General Staff, his work as a reorganizer is done. Such is by no means the case. Aside from the attention which the General Staff itself will need until it has had a practical trial, there is the whole question of the future of the old staff departments. There never was any good reason why the duty of supplying the army with food, pay, clothing, quarters, and cooking utensils should be in the hands of five separate departments, but it is, and

each one of them is presided over by a general who goes his own way regardless of any one else. Common sense demands that these supply functions shall be in the hands of one set of officers, as is the custom in the navy. Mr. Root drafted a bill last year which was in the nature of a compromise, but its consideration by Congress was postponed until the coming session. This reform alone is almost as important as the creation of the General Staff. Moreover, the system of military education which Mr. Root has established still needs attention and further development. Finally, the service has not begun to settle down after its Cuban and Philippine campaigns, and to digest its unassimilated young officers who are only just learning the a b c of their profession, and who need careful weeding out. Along these lines there remains a great deal of constructive work quite worthy of Mr. Root's abilities. On the other hand, Judge Taft, if he should take the War Department, could be relied upon to deal with Philippine matters in a much better spirit, and would certainly be guilty of no such exhibition of petty spite as has marked the retirement of Gen. Miles.

The final withdrawal from active service of the navy's chief engineer, Rear-Admiral George W. Melville, merits greater attention than it has received. He was retired for age in January last, but was allowed to hold his office until the expiration of his term as chief of the Engineering Bureau, which occurred on August 8. This position he had held with satisfaction to the navy and the public for the unprecedented period of sixteen years, during which the new fleet has come into being. The transformation which he witnessed, and, to a large degree, guided, is comparable only to that which took place when sailing vessels gave way to steam. Under his direction have been not only the care and manning of these ships in commission, but the designing of the new ships. The visit of the *Kearsarge* to Europe has resulted in high praise of the ship's engine department and general mechanical arrangements, which seem to have impressed Germans and English where the appearance and discipline of the crew did not. Rear-Admiral Melville has possessed some rare qualities besides those of being able to recognize and employ capable assistants. He has, for instance, unlike most bureaucrats, been ready to admit his mistakes. He was the first officer to acknowledge that the amalgamation of the line and staff, which he favored, was a failure as matters are at present administered. Characteristically, he left office firing one more broadside at his brother officers who do not

share his pet belief in triple screw warships.

The most serious scandal affecting the Government's relations to its Indian wards which has become public for at least a decade past, is now foreshadowed in the report of Samuel W. Brosius, general agent of the Indian Rights Association, in regard to land tenure in the Indian Territory. With the old stories of the cheating and robbing of Indians by white men we are all quite familiar; but that trusted agents of the Government, among them officials of the Dawes Commission, should be found to be profiting by other connections than those with the public service, is certainly startling. It was hoped that the spirit which animated the Beaverses and Machens of the Postal Department had spread into no other branches of the public service. Now it appears that most of the Federal officials in the Indian Territory were either stockholders or officers in a "Tribal Development Company" and a "Title and Trust Company" authorized to do business in the very lands which these officials, or some of them, were sworn to see properly allotted and distributed to the tribes which are rapidly being converted into American citizens. There is something radically wrong with our standards of office-holding when men of unblemished reputation like Inspector Wright could enter into such business relations even with the purest motives and best intentions. It is fortunate for all concerned that President Roosevelt has a personal interest in Indian questions, and is certain to insist upon a rigid investigation. In 1901 he removed Gov. Jenkins of Oklahoma after it had been proved that he held stock in a company furnishing supplies to Territorial institutions.

With Justice Brewer's belief that one desirable remedy for lynching is the abolition of the right of appeal in criminal cases, we cannot agree. Take the case of Molineux in this city. Convicted on his first trial, this man went free the second time he faced a judge and jury. Without the aid of the wrongfully introduced evidence of the first trial, the case against him collapsed. Yet he would have been done to death had Justice Brewer's plan of no appeal been the law. Before this change can be made, our judges of the lower courts must be of better stuff and freer from political influences. A comparison with English judges does not lie, but even if it did there should be some provision against human and judicial fallibility. By this we do not mean to say that there are no possible reforms in the procedure of our courts. President Roosevelt was right

in urging all possible expedition in criminal trials, but he would not advocate, we are sure, the breaking down of those safeguards with which our legal method of killing or punishing people has been hedged about by the slow growth of the common and statute law. Aside from this, Justice Brewer's strong words on lynching are most welcome. Like the utterances of Judges Woodward and Lore at Chautauqua, they are a fitting close to the public debate of the last few weeks in which the Chautauqua speeches have been so notable and valuable. With the strong statements of President Roosevelt and these judges on record, the "mighty fortress" of law and order is once more buttressed against its numerous enemies.

Such vigorous vindications of the sanctity of the law as Circuit Attorney Folk has been securing in Missouri have an indirect effect which is perhaps more far-reaching than their direct. Just now there are indications that St. Louis is about to abandon the policy of non-enforcement of excise laws so long in practice there, and which has earned for it the distinction of being one of the "wide open" towns of the West. The campaign has begun with the "wine rooms," which in St. Louis represent the means of approach to vice of all sorts. The old system was to permit these places to go on under the protection of the police and the politicians of the ward. Occasionally, when complaints grew too numerous, a license was taken away for a day or two, but it was invariably handed back again, either to the former proprietor or to his chief bartender. Now the wine rooms are being closed and kept closed in the face of all kinds of threats and protests. Another instance of the influence of Mr. Folk's crusade is reported by a St. Louis paper. A member of the municipal legislature was observed by a reporter at the ticket office in the railway station. "What," exclaimed the reporter, "you don't mean to say you pay your fare?" "Oh, yes, I do—now," replied the delegate.

John Wesley never seems quite so radiant as in Newgate jail preaching to the prisoners, and "Jersey justice" is never so awfully majestic as when it has corporation for its theme. The State is reputed a Botany Bay of shady corporations, and its courts get cases as delightful to the judicial mind as the most complicated bodily maladies are to the pathologist. Vice-Chancellor Pitney has fully lived up to his own opportunities and to the reputation of Jersey justice in the hearing on a receivership for the Universal Tobacco Company. As a matter of fact, the evidence of trickery in the formation of the company and in directors selling out their own stockholders was of a kind to provoke *obiter dicta*

of a pungent kind. It may not have been narrowly judicial for Vice-Chancellor Pitney to berate the "tyranny of majority stockholders," and to allege fraud in the sale of treasury stock at absurdly low figures. But his outbursts expressed the natural indignation of an honest mind scandalized by irregularities which too many of us accept as the ordinary course of business. If such deliverances were commoner on and off the bench, there would be greater hope that delinquent States would be shamed out of the policy of seeking profit from the general demoralization of corporate business.

Through the repudiation of his recent strike orders by the Board of Building Trades, Sam Parks becomes a prophet without honor in his own country. It should be recalled that he was supposed to control the Board absolutely, and that on that account a number of the trade unions formerly represented have withdrawn, and are organizing a new central body. Apparently, then, Parks's formal support is reduced to that of his counsel in the extortion trial now proceeding, and of Devery, his bondsman. The particular action repudiated by the Board of Building Trades was Parks's triumphal progress after the first charges of extortion had been lodged against him. On that occasion he led a band of walking delegates from building to building, and arbitrarily called out numbers of laborers who had returned to work pending the settlement of the dispute with the employers. Parks has the quality of inspiring fear among his fellows; he is perfectly capable of forcing the Board to vindicate him by rescinding its action. But the fact that they have chosen to reprimand him at a time when the courts are trying him for blackmail, shows that even his brother walking delegates are weary of his violent and unreasonable rule.

New York's Water Commissioner, Col. Monroe, is now able to report some of the results of the unremitting attention he has given to the question of water waste. To have reduced the daily use of water by 1,500,000 gallons—16,500,000, really, counting the normal increase—in a city which is growing so steadily as New York, is a remarkable achievement. It illustrates afresh the great benefits certain to follow a careful and scientific administration of any city department. This great saving of \$803,000 a year—nearly one-half the cost of the entire Water Department payroll—has been made, not because of heavy outlays in improvements and new inventions, but by a careful study of the actual conditions and a stopping of the most noticeable instances of waste. It does not mean that there is nothing further to be done in this direction, or that Col. Mon-

roe has reached the limit of his resources in getting a greater income for the city from the water which is actually consumed. If the right to instal meters in apartment houses, and even in private residences, were given to him, there would be further results of importance. Thus far Col. Monroe can boast of having saved to the city, or increased its income by, sums aggregating nearly three millions of dollars. Could the business men of New York ask any better proof of the fact that reform pays?

The *Evening Post* presents a striking parallel between the conditions at the port of Montreal and at New York. Export cargoes are plentiful at the former point; here the tramp steamer, the sure index of the state of trade, has almost disappeared, and the few which do frequent our port must remain here idly for days, perhaps weeks, waiting to be chartered. For the week ending June 20, 1903, more wheat went from Portland, Me., than from New York. Less than 260,000 bushels came this way for export, while more than 1,360,000 bushels went by way of Canadian ports and Boston. The same freight rates are offered by rail to Boston as to New York, though the distance is greater, and, besides this, free storage with insurance is provided in railroad warehouses at Boston. The rates to Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport News, and other Atlantic ports south of New York are lower than to this port, the result of a traffic arrangement between the trunk lines. As to the decline itself, there is no possible doubt. The annual report of the Chamber of Commerce for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, shows that there was a total decrease in the foreign commerce of the city of New York, as compared with 1901, amounting to \$43,198,000. The figures for 1901 show a decrease of \$23,756,000 over 1900. Instead of sharing in the great increase in the nation's foreign trade, the port of New York has fallen behind. Meantime, Montreal's exports have grown from \$32,245,941 in 1880, to \$64,040,982 in 1899, and her imports from \$42,412,648 in 1880, to \$65,018,544 in 1899. From statistics compiled by the New York Produce Exchange we learn that New York's percentage of the total exports of flour, wheat, and corn, in bushels, fell from 56.3 per cent. in 1880 to 32.9 per cent. in 1899, while Boston in the same period of time increased her exports of flour, wheat and corn from 7.9 per cent. to 13.3 per cent.; Philadelphia, from 13.7 per cent. to 16.3 per cent.; Baltimore from 22 per cent. to 26.6 per cent.; Norfolk from 1 per cent. to 2.8 per cent., and Newport News from nothing to 8.4 per cent. Since these figures have been compiled, the decline has been even more striking.

The foundation of a school of jour-

nalism, which Columbia University has accepted, marks the most ambitious attempt yet seen to give the profession full academic standing. We have had "courses" in journalism and several so-called "schools," but nothing hitherto which aimed so proudly at making the editor's calling one of the learned professions. We should be the last to decry any plan to regularize and dignify newspaper work—least of all to make it more intelligent and conscientious; but the attempt to mark off a distinct journalistic discipline in a university seems to us bound to fail, in the nature of the case. To show this we have only to look at the tentative curriculum. It embraces work almost completely covered already by existing faculties. Courses in history, economics, languages, ethics, government, finance, diplomacy, statistics, etc.—all good and many indispensable for the journalist, no doubt, but all provided without the need of a separate school. President Eliot frankly states as much when he writes that if a foundation in journalism were offered to Harvard, the money could best be used in strengthening courses "already given at the University every year." The same must be largely true at Columbia. Special journalistic studies cannot be set off in a sharply marked school. They overlap the courses of general education at a thousand points. The analogy of the other professions breaks down the moment you try to draft a special academic training for the journalist. And, of course, the law of parsimony will prevent, in the long run, the duplication of work, in the name of journalism, already done elsewhere under the name of history, economics, jurisprudence, etc. There is, of course, a certain amount of journalistic technique to be mastered, but it is not great in comparison with other professions, and it may be gravely doubted if it can be successfully taught outside of a newspaper office itself.

By a curious and incalculable misfortune, the Parliament prorogued on Friday at Westminster is likely to get comparatively little credit for its imposing roster of new laws. Mr. Chamberlain's protectionist campaign has so much overshadowed other interests that the London Education bill, the Irish Land bill, and the ratification of the Sugar convention are already almost forgotten. Of the sugar and education laws it can only be said that Mr. Balfour pushed them through by a strict party majority, and against the convictions of many of his supporters. Indeed, until Mr. Chamberlain made his witty defence of the Sugar convention, the other day, the advocacy of all Government bills had been of a most languid sort. It is doubtful if laws so important have ever been passed under like conditions of public and Parliamentary indifference. Mr. Wynd-

ham's land bill was an exception, so far as its passage in the Commons was concerned, and any Ministerial laurels clearly belong to him, even if the land-purchase law should fall somewhat short of his expectations. Mr. Balfour's attempt to suppress discussion of the Chamberlain plan by Parliament is an unpleasant episode of the session. It was the one subject that always elicited good debating beyond the little specialist groups interested in single bills. That Mr. Balfour comes out with his political prestige sadly damaged cannot be denied. The country is taking sides for or against Mr. Chamberlain's protectionism, and there is no lack of conviction on either hand. Mr. Balfour's open-mindedness already bears a comically belated look, and does him harm. But he cannot decide for or against Chamberlain without precipitating a party rupture and his own retirement. Under these circumstances, dissolution is highly desirable. It will become imperative as Mr. Chamberlain's aggressiveness widens the rift in the Unionist party. Whether the next session be long or short, Mr. Chamberlain will dominate it. He has made his individual conviction a national issue, and has staked the life of his party upon his being right. That is a remarkable achievement, if not wholly a creditable one.

Premier Seddon of New Zealand has been Mr. Chamberlain's right-hand man in the new protectionist campaign. Mr. Seddon now promises that his colony will follow the example of Canada and give a tariff preference unconditionally to the mother country. That would hardly advance the Imperial reciprocity idea in England. It would be taken as the sign that colonial loyalty is possible without the inducements which Mr. Chamberlain regards as indispensable. Protectionist leagues would point out the shame of receiving such favors without doing something in return; but a campaign cry of that sort would fall before the common-sense comment, frequently cited in Canada, that England should not repay concessions which cost the colonies nothing, by taxing her own food beyond her ability to pay. Everything that one hears from the colonies indicates that Mr. Chamberlain is most wise in refusing to give Parliament the proceedings of the conference of colonial Premiers. It is likely that this report contains some of the most trenchant criticisms of the whole reciprocity scheme.

We are informed in the dispatches that the appointment of a Russian viceroy for northern Manchuria is a triumph for M. Witte's policy of peace. In the sense that a civil ruler may be less likely to give cause of offence than a military governor-general, that may be true; but it is also apparent that the appoint-

ment of an admiral-viceroy, exercising both offices simultaneously, might be taken as a sign that a forward policy is to be adopted. Certainly, the Japanese will have small cause to rejoice that the admiral who is a possible foe of theirs adds vice-regal to naval dignities. It should be noted also that, in setting up a viceroy, the Russians impose upon their wards of the Amur the only kind of authority fully recognized by the Chinese. In the imagination of northern China, this step should soon give the *de facto* Russian rule a *de jure* acceptance. It is unfortunate for those who see a pacific purpose in the change of government that the dispatches which tell of Admiral Alexieff's promotion also report the increase of the army of occupation. Nominally a leasehold from China, a large district of Manchuria is now formally taken over as a Russian province. This makes for peace only on condition that China and Japan submit to the eventual extension of the new viceroyalty from the northern Amur provinces into southern Manchuria.

The Berlin *Nation* has no difficulty in finding reasons why the Social Democrats increased their vote by 990,000 in the last election. In its issue of August 1 it tells the story of a postal official who rejoices in the name of Richard Wagner. In his leisure moments this young man gave much time to a study of the writings of Darwin, Haeckel, and Schopenhauer, with the result that he produced and published a satirical book called the 'Gospel of Contempt.' It is not asserted that this literary effort attracted many readers, but, unfortunately for the author, one copy fell into the hands of the Postmaster-General. That official concluded that Herr Wagner's doctrines were opposed to both morality and religion, and pronounced the author a "malefactor" deserving of punishment. He was formally notified that he had forfeited all right to promotion and also to any advance of salary in his present position unless it could be shown, when that advance became due, that he had not sinned again. He was also transferred from Cassel to Hanau, a much smaller town and office. Herr Wagner's reply to this was an official statement that he had joined the Social Democrats, for which offence he will probably be removed "for the good of the service." He will thus be made ineligible for any further Government employment, merely because he denies that the Post Office purchased his right to think upon literary and philosophical subjects when it hired his services. At the time the "lex Heinze" was under discussion in the Reichstag, Hans Delbrück asked whether the present reactionary tendencies would not cause "art and knowledge" to take refuge under the banner of the Social Democrats. There are signs that he was discerning.

SUICIDAL PROTECTION.

It is surprising that so little attention has been paid to the lessening turnover of capital in this country. The census figures show that there has been a striking diminution in the ratio between the capital of American manufacturing industry and the value of the product. The Census of 1880 reported 253,852 establishments, with an aggregate capital of \$2,790,272,606, and with a product valued at \$5,369,579,191. In 1900 the figures were 512,191, \$9,813,834,390, and \$13,000,149,159, respectively. The salient feature of this showing is, that while the capital employed increased 252 per cent. between 1880 and 1900, the value of the product increased only 142 per cent. Stated otherwise, in 1880 capital was less than 52 per cent. of the value of product, whereas in 1900 it was about 75½ per cent. In other words, in 1880 capital turned itself over nearly twice, while in 1900 the turn-over was not much more than one and a quarter times.

In running the eye down the detailed report of the various industries, one is impressed by the very general tendency of capital to reduce the ratio between itself and the value of the finished product. Take a few of the striking instances. In 1880, the brick and tile industry employed \$27,673,000 of capital, and the value of the product was \$32,833,000; but in 1900 the capital was \$82,086,000 and the product only \$51,270,000. Carriages and wagons produced \$64,951,000, on \$37,973,000 of capital in 1880, and \$121,537,000 on \$119,473,000 in 1900. Railroad and street cars turned out a product of \$27,979,000 on \$9,272,000 capital in 1880, and \$107,186,000 on \$106,721,000 capital in 1900. Cotton manufacturing did not turn its capital over even once in 1880; but it has done very much worse since. At the date mentioned its capital was \$219,504,000, and its product \$210,950,000; while in 1900 the figures were \$467,240,000 and \$339,200,000 respectively. Cutlery and edged tools employed \$9,859,000 capital and turned out a product of \$11,661,000 in 1880, against a capital of \$16,532,000 and a product of \$14,881,000 in 1900. In the case of fertilizers, capital was \$17,913,000 and product \$23,650,000 in 1880; these items being \$60,685,000 and \$44,657,000 respectively in 1900. Foundry and machine-shop products reported \$155,021,000 of capital and \$215,442,000 of product in 1880, and \$665,058,000 of capital and \$644,990,000 of product in 1900. Similar showings are made by glass and hardware, and, proportionately, a very much worse showing by glucose, malt liquors, and lumber and timber products. Paper and wood pulp, plated and britannia ware, typewriters and supplies, agricultural implements, and worsted and woollen goods fall into the same category. It is apparent at a glance

that this list includes many industries which have come under the influence of the Trust movement.

Taking the Census figures as a whole, they indicate a marked growth of industrial competition in the United States. It would be futile, of course, to charge the whole of this movement specifically to the tariff; but to those who have studied manufacturing conditions in this country carefully for a long period of years, the undue influence of the tariff certainly stands out in strong light. The tariff has affected American industry at many points, some of which are too obvious to need mention, but others of which have failed to attract general notice. The paternalism bred by our tariff policy has put a premium on incompetency and extravagance. All manufacturers have not been characterized by these shortcomings; but the point is that the tariff, if we may judge it by its effects, has been framed to protect manufacturers with the minimum amount of skill and economy—the more efficient securing, incidentally, a better profit for the time being. It can hardly be disputed that the national policy has acted as a blight on industry as a whole, by producing a prosperity for its beneficiaries which really meant hardship for them in the end.

Up to a certain period the domestic manufacturer was subjected to a minimum amount of competition, by reason of the exclusion from the home market, through legal barriers, of the foreign producer. This naturally retarded the development of technical and commercial skill on the part of American manufacturers. The high profit realized under our paternalism reacted on industry, however, by diverting money in undue amounts to protected channels, and the point was reached some years ago when the manufacturers began to declare that it was not so much foreign competition that they feared as domestic. Foreign competition was facilitated by the extravagant cost of manufacturing here. Protection furnished such heavy profits at the start that the incentive to economy of operation was in large measure removed. Eventually, however, extravagant methods began to tell against our manufacturers.

It was easy come, easy go with American manufacturers, up to a comparatively short time ago, in the matter of profits. This fact created the loosest notions regarding the importance of writing off for depreciation. Charges to this account were, as a matter of fact, very inadequate. Old plants were not kept up to date; and, furthermore, every year subjected them to keener competition from new plants with the most modern equipment. Carelessness regarding depreciation was, of course, the result of over-eagerness for

dividends. In the distribution of the profits of industry, comparatively little thought was devoted to the contingencies of the future.

As a result of these and other conditions, the manufacturing industry of the United States was brought to a very uncomfortable pass within the last ten years. There was a widespread eagerness on the part of the owners of manufacturing plants to rid themselves of their responsibilities, and an effort was made to accomplish this end just as soon as money-market conditions righted themselves after the long period of hard times and free-silver agitation. The country was full of idle money, and great financiers were seeking new schemes to exploit. The result was the Trust movement. The tendencies leading to this movement were deep-seated; the specific form of the movement was largely fortuitous. In the light of what we have said, it is clear that the tariff was a leading and efficient cause. In this sense, too, the tariff has been the mother of Trusts.

A FRIEND OF THE MOB.

When Gov. Seymour addressed the draft rioters in this city as "my friends," he not only hurt himself terribly, but made the task of restoring order so much the more difficult. Mr. Graves of Georgia, in openly striking hands with lynchers and glorifying the mob, as he did at Chautauqua last week, certainly hurt himself, but, unwittingly, helped rather than hindered the creation of a better public sentiment. It is something to have a horrible example; and, to our mind, nothing about lynching is more horrible than the way in which it perverts the reasoning powers and dulls the moral perceptions of educated gentlemen like Mr. Graves. If the mania is going to seize upon such as he, if men of apparently sound and trained mind are to fall to shrieking with the mob, the peril of anarchy is more acutely impending than we had thought, and the duty of society to front it, by argument and persuasion where possible, by the gleaming sword of justice when necessary, becomes more solemnly imperative than ever.

Mr. Graves, it must be confessed, was not happy in the moment he chose for his apologia for lynching. If he had known that his address was to fall but two days after the President's letter had set public sentiment surging in quite another direction, he probably would have desired to avoid so unlucky an anticlimax. As it is, his views necessarily appear as if struggling to escape from under the Presidential extinguisher, and the widespread approval of Mr. Roosevelt's sentiments involves the repudiation of Mr. Graves. We already see the intelligence of the South disown its assumed spokesman; and indeed the

Southern newspapers and public men that have so handsomely endorsed the President, could not in consistency have anything but condemnation for the doctrines of Mr. Graves.

Amazing and atrocious as these seem to be, they are of value as revealing a state of mind. This is an important part of our problem. Mr. Graves, we have no doubt, feels as many do in the South—and apparently in some parts of the North—who have not the courage to utter their sentiments in public. There is such a thing as the psychology of lynching, which is most important for those to understand who would combat the evil. This mental attitude Mr. Graves illustrates perfectly. We see in him those evidences of obsession, of intellect submerged in feeling, of unreasoning dread, and of reaching out after impossible remedies which are displayed so clearly in the communities where lynching is common, and which seem to call for the aid of the alienist almost as much as for the intervention of the educator and the statesman.

Note how Mr. Graves impatiently sweeps away all experience in penology as well as the facts in the case. For him, Romilly never lived; and the classical experiments in reducing crime by making its punishment less terrible but more certain never took place. Nothing but lynching can stop rape, he maintains; and then admits in the same breath that not even lynching, in its most fearful and barbaric forms, does actually stop it. And not a word has he to say about the statistics referred to by the President, showing that more than three-fourths of recent lynchings were not for rape at all. To all these teachings of the past and these tell-tale facts of the present Mr. Graves seems perfectly indifferent. That merely shows how deeply he is involved in the almost pathological condition of mind which alone makes it possible to excuse lynching.

But even this impassioned champion of the mob as "the sternest, the strongest, and the most effective restraint that the age holds for the control of rape," has to confess his remedy by lynching a failure. He would have lynch-law written in the statute-books. He urges that lynching be made statutory. This is wild enough. To legalize anarchy in respect to one crime would only set it howling for the blood of every man whom the mob did not fancy. Mr. Graves would plunge us all back into savagery, and then have a legal tag fastened upon us saying that we were foremost in the files of time. But this madness he presently drops for a new one. Even his authorized mob of lynchers, he contends, cannot save the South, since it is only a "temporizing expedient," while "the logical, the inevitable, the only solution of this great problem of the races" is—separation!

Thus does Mr. Graves put himself out of the court of reason. Separation of the negroes from the whites, either by segregating the former somewhere in this country, or by shipping them to Africa, is the craziest notion out of the asylum. The colored population do not want it, and cannot be forced to it; nor do the white people want it. Let Mr. Graves ask the Southerners to give up all their black workmen, and see what would happen. They might be tempted to apply his doctrine of the mob in a way highly inconvenient to himself. No, our help does not lie in a revival of Colonization blunders and follies and hypocrisies, nor in any other far-away or fantastic remedy. All that we have to do is to put in force the ordinary principles of ordinary justice and humanity. Treat all criminals according to crime, not color. Make the ministers of the law swift and terrible. But let them move as promptly against the lyncher as against his victim. Give Governors and sheriffs and police captains a mandate to lay down their lives rather than let the mob usurp one function of the courts. And let us talk sense, look at all the facts, and be fair, never abating our determination to rescue the land from the bloody-minded but cowardly lyncher, and to treat him and every man who defends him as a public enemy.

THE MASSACHUSETTS CORPORATION ACT.

Many States have been overhauling their corporation laws. The tendency shown has been distinctly toward a more liberal theory of organization, accompanied, however, by greater care to provide for adequate though not exorbitant taxation. Nowhere has it been more evident than in Massachusetts, whose legislation affecting corporations had, until this year, been characterized by severe conservatism. Down to 1901, Massachusetts corporations were not permitted to issue preferred stock. Prior to the enactment of the present law, no corporation could begin business until its entire capital was fully paid, in cash or its equivalent, and the approval of the Commissioner of Corporations obtained. This was no mere formality. Directors, and even stockholders in many instances, were held liable for the debts. The organization tax was high and the strictest form of accountability was required.

The theory was, that, by refusing to grant corporate charters based on minimum requirements, as in other States, the corporations of Massachusetts would acquire a peculiar credit, and Massachusetts charters would be sought as guarantees of stability. Experience, however, proved that these motives, operating perhaps on a small scale, were generally overruled by the desire for greater laxness. As a result, business in Massachusetts was being largely con-

ducted by foreign corporations. These could not be controlled or adequately taxed. This lesson was finally taken to heart, and the Massachusetts corporation law of 1903 followed.

Its fundamental idea is that, without fraud, a corporation is entitled to the same freedom of action as an individual, together with such limitations of liability as will encourage industrial development. The departure from the old view was radical. The first step was to abolish the limit of capitalization, both in amount and in proportion to the net tangible assets. It was believed that these restrictions had much to do with the admitted arrest of corporate growth in the commonwealth. The stockholders and creditors of the corporations, who previously had been treated almost as if they were wards of the State, were by the new law left to form their own estimates of the solvency of the concern; the State, however, continuing to insist that the creditors and stockholders be precisely informed as to all matters relating to the organization or management of the corporation. The State itself no longer undertook to pass judgment. Similar reasons caused the abandonment of the provision of the old law requiring all capital stock to be paid for in cash or its equivalent. Now the stock may be paid for in cash, tangible or intangible property, or in services.

The directors, instead of the Commissioner of Corporations, become the sole judges of the value of the property against which stock is issued. The commencement of business no longer need await the paying in of all the capital. Good will, which was not formerly recognized as an asset, may now be counted with the property upon which stock issues are based. Lists of stockholders, formerly open to public inspection, are now withheld, to be produced only at the direction of a competent court. The cost of incorporating is reduced one-half. At the same time the provisions relating to foreign corporations are somewhat increased in severity. The incorporation fee is larger and the attempt is to tax the entire capital stock, no matter what proportion of it is invested in Massachusetts, at the rate of one-hundredth of one per cent. This in itself will be an interesting experiment to watch. When a like provision was talked of in this State, we were told that reprisals in other States against our own corporations would surely follow.

Great pains were taken in preparing the taxation features of the new law. Corporations are to be subject to two forms of taxation—one local, the other by and for the benefit of the State. The local tax, assessed by the cities and towns, is on real estate and machinery. The State tax is on all other net assets. It is assessed by a State Tax Commissioner, and is, in substance, a tax at the State rate upon the fair cash value of

the shares of the corporation, deducting therefrom the assessed valuation of the real estate and machinery locally taxed. The State tax rate in Massachusetts is usually about 1.60. The maximum amount of the State tax on any corporation cannot exceed a tax levied at the general State rate upon a sum 20 per cent. above the amount of the local valuation, plus the value of merchandise not locally taxed. On the other hand, the amount of the State tax levy must not be less than one-tenth of one per cent. of the par value of the capital stock.

Information for the use of stockholders and the public is provided for by a section of the new law requiring every corporation to file annually with the Commissioner of Corporations a report containing the name of the corporation, the location of its principal office, the date of its last annual meeting, the total amount of its capital stock, the amount issued and outstanding, and the amount then paid thereon, the class or classes into which the stock is divided, the par value and number of the shares, the names and addresses of all the directors and officers of the corporation, and the date when the term of office of each expires, together with a statement of assets and liabilities. This report is to be at all times subject to public inspection.

Time and actual operation will be the best commentators on the new law. It is a significant and not wholly reassuring sign of the times that Massachusetts should have departed from her immemorial policy, plausible as may be the reasons assigned for the step. Already there are protests against her having even appeared to go into the competition for corporation charters and resultant corporation revenues, at a possible expense of stability and safety. One county judge has said that, if New Jersey is the mother of Trusts, Massachusetts is aspiring to be their step-mother. In the absence of uniform legislation, one State can, of course, do but little to enforce the stricter view of corporation laws. As for Massachusetts, the deciding argument for her appears to have been that, under the old law, her chief corporate business was transacted by foreign companies which she could neither supervise adequately nor tax as she wished.

ALTERING WORKS OF ART.

Mural painting is in many aspects a business, involving large provision of credit, capital, underwriting even; but, unluckily, it is a new business in this country, and so unprovided with legal precedents. We believe that the matter comes for the first time before the courts in Mr. Dodge's successful petition for a preliminary injunction restraining an architect from altering certain panels

without his consent. These depicted scenes in Canadian history, and were furnished by Mr. Dodge, acting, as is customary, under contract with a firm of decorators, for a Toronto hotel. The preliminary sketches had been approved, but the architect was dissatisfied with the finished work. He therefore asked that certain changes indicated by him be made—a request which Mr. Dodge refused. The architect then declared that he would have the changes made by another hand. In the hearing on the preliminary injunction, two sharply opposed views appeared. The architect and the contractor asserted that the purchase of a work of art was like any other purchase. The buyer had the right to do what he would with his own, for the sale was unrestricted. The painter naturally held that the sale was made on the implied condition that the work of art should remain as it left his hand. He brought up pertinently the analogy of books, which may not be added to without the author's consent. In other words, Mr. Dodge maintained that a work of art is practically sold in trust, subject to its proper maintenance as an authentic product of the artist.

Without touching upon the merits of the present case, much obviously is to be said for the view that the artist parts with control. There is a certain brutality in the view that a purchaser of a canvas may cut it up and sell the pieces quite as if he were turning acres into town lots; but such an attitude has the advantage of simplicity and of consistency with the general laws of buying and selling. In particular, it should be said that an architect has and should have autocratic power over all materials to be used in a building under his control. He may tear down lath and put up marble quite regardless of the feelings of the lathers. Unquestionably, he may use his power oppressively; but when he replaces painted canvas with stucco, or alters the colors of decoration, he is well within his rights. In commercial decoration, for example, he could arbitrarily transpose the colors of walls and ceilings, and the decorator, who in his way might be an artist, too, would have no grounds of complaint. In the case before us Mr. Dodge is treated quite on this basis—as a decorator whose work must, either by himself or another, be made to meet the architect's requirements. It is a question not of aesthetics, but of rights. The architect may be woefully mistaken in his artistic judgment, and yet perfectly right in asserting his authority. Contrariwise, Mr. Dodge's decoration may be sadly amiss, and yet he himself be impregnable in his *ne varietur*.

We believe that the courts will follow the precedents already established in France, and lay down the principle that an artist's work has at least the immunities accorded to empty cigar boxes.

How much damage might be done to an artist by allowing his work to be altered, finds illustration in a familiar anecdote in Vasari's 'Lives of the Painters.' On one occasion, he relates, Botticelli's rather stupid assistant, Biagio, had painted a Madonna surrounded by eight angels. The master, taking advantage of the absence of his disciple, pasted over the angels' heads eight caps, in paper, such as the citizens of Florence then wore. That travesty of his angelic choir brought Biagio to confusion. Now imagine such a deformation of a picture not done temporarily as a joke, but effected permanently. Evidently the ridicule and discredit attaching to such a pictorial monstrosity would injure the artist in his feelings, and even in his professional reputation. Especially is this true of decorations which are always on exhibition; and while it is not probable that Mr. Dodge's architect means to put fools' caps on the Hurons in the panels, he may be planning an improvement that would be only less distressing to their creator, and equally damaging.

Beyond these personal considerations, there is in any alteration of a work of art a potential fraud. A painting should not be confused with anonymous handicraft. It bears an artist's name and is known as his. When the work is changed by another it virtually ceases to be his, and if it be sold as such, or without notice of the alterations, the work becomes to all intents and purposes a forgery. Theoretically, perhaps, a fantastic collector would be justified in painting Worth gowns on Millet peasants, but we believe that in France, where the laws are more advanced in these matters, he would not be allowed to exhibit the picture publicly or to let it leave his hands as a Millet. And such action would be taken rather in the interest of Millet's great name than in that of the ingenuous American collector.

History, perhaps, does not justify the hope that the artist's right in his own work will be fully respected. It will be recalled that a Cupid has been painted out of the Dresden Venus of Giorgione, while horses were painted into Dürer's portraits of the brothers Paumgärtner. The authorities of the Munich Museum have, after nearly three hundred years, removed the horses; no Pope has yet ventured to undo the work of Michelangelo's "Breeches Maker" in the Sistine Chapel. For many generations it was a regular practice of curators of museums to piece out small canvases and panels, which thus gained what is technically called "importance." To-day we are carefully removing the work of those picture tinkers—though, alas, that is frequently impossible. It is not likely that an age thus solicitous for the fame of artists long dead will allow the work of living artists to be tampered with. In case of dispute, we feel, a work of

art must be accepted or rejected, and the artist must be the sole judge of the desirability of alterations. Otherwise we should be allowing to committees of aldermen the right to add or subtract the proverbial inch when they are dissatisfied with the proportions of a sculptured hero's nose.

THE IRISH LAND BILL AND THE ROYAL VISIT.

DUBLIN, August 1, 1903.

The relations of imperial to local finance in the British Empire are based upon no settled principle, and become increasingly complicated. It is "pull devil, pull tailor," and the weakest to the wall. This is especially so concerning Ireland. A few years ago, as most will remember, a commission, appointed by Government, unanimously reported that she paid £2,500,000 per annum more than her fair share. That figure has since perhaps been doubled, yet there is no apparent chance of justice being done. Sums in excess of those required for imperial purposes are drawn into the imperial treasury and then doled out as best suits the Ministry of the day. There are British funds and Irish funds earmarked for particular purposes, and then applied otherwise. The policy doubtless is to train the minds of all subjects to look to London. It is a wasteful, demoralizing system. The general public has no clear idea as to whether the money spent around them for public purposes is being drawn from their own town or district, or from the imperial exchequer. To this fiscal confusion in Ireland is added the effort in legislation to guard every interest, and trust nothing to the healthy action of fair administration and public opinion. On all these accounts there was seldom if ever a more complicated measure than the Land bill now before the House of Lords. As modified by the Irish party in committee, it is accepted by the majority as a beneficial, far-reaching measure as has been no other bill since that for the disestablishment of the Church. On the other hand, it is denounced by some of the most stalwart land reformers in Ireland as a betrayal of the tenant's cause. Mr. Davitt lately discussed the realities of the measure as contrasted with the jubilation over it in a communication headed "Facts and Flapdoodle." In to-day's *Freeman* prominence is given to a letter by Mr. Kettle, a well-known land-reformer, in which he writes that if a certain clause (which there is no chance of the Lords inserting) is not added, he has "no hesitation in saying that it will prove to be a curse instead of a blessing to Ireland." Mr. Sexton (as influencing the *Freeman*, of which paper he is chairman) and Mr. Dillon evidently regard the measure with considerable coolness. The settlement, in so far as it is a settlement, falls far short of what was at one time hoped and expected. However, some settlement is better than none. It would be difficult to appraise the economic loss consequent on continued agitation. As measured by annual rental, a few years more or less paid for the fee simple will be of small account compared to the advantages likely to be derived from a sense of ownership.

The acclaim with which in free countries a monarch is received is generally regarded as a measure of the degree in

which subjects are satisfied with the institutions under which they live. It would be easy to misinterpret the reception accorded to the King and Queen. We must take into account the crowds of visitors, the feverish anxiety of the official classes and the "loyal minority" to put themselves in evidence, displays from business considerations, and the natural desire of a people to see a live King and Queen, and their readiness to be amused with brilliant military and other displays in lovely weather. The native masses were not particularly enthusiastic. Decorations were strikingly absent in the streets inhabited by those whose votes weigh most at the polls. There were in the South and West few addresses from representative bodies. An able weekly separatist paper, the *United Irishman*, enjoying a considerable circulation, has for some weeks devoted its columns to ridiculing, belittling, and condemning the demonstrations connected with the visit. Yet, when all is said, the reception was remarkable, showing a change in public feeling from that existent during the Queen's reign. This change was most apparent in the bearing of the Catholic Church—perhaps not uninfluenced by the hope of favors to come; and we cannot but recognize the tendency in these countries, in the effort to conciliate Catholic peoples, to concede to the Catholic Church favors accorded in few Catholic countries. For the first time in fifty years a Catholic archbishop has paid homage to a monarch at Dublin Castle. As for the King and Queen themselves, they did all in their power to attach public feeling—visiting hospitals and the dwellings of the poor, cancelling an engagement to appear at a theatre and donning mourning on receiving the news of the decease of Leo XIII. Stage and other estimates of our character must surely be modified now that King Edward has spoken of the keenness of our intelligence and "the warmth of our hearts." Upon what excuse hereafter can rights conceded to other peoples in the empire be refused us?

What this all portends as to future agitation it is impossible to predicate. A Protestant people denied rights of local government as strongly desired as Home Rule is supposed to be by the Irish people, would never have accorded even such a reception as has taken place here; or at least the protesting element would have been more in evidence. The course of events in Ireland was never more difficult to guess. In a certain sense all is again "in the melting-pot." The disappointment is bitter of those who, still believing in some form of Home Rule as desirable, gave themselves to the agitation a third of a century ago, believing it would be steadily pushed forward and would gather strength as did the Reform and Anti-Corn Law agitations in Great Britain, and the Anti-Slavery agitation in the United States. Some inimitable utterances by "Mr. Doolley" anent the Dreyfus case and the manner in which the French turn from one excitement to the other, present themselves to my mind as often as I consider the many other panaceas for the ills of Ireland that here have protruded themselves in general estimation before the one supposed to be supreme. At the present moment a large proportion of the ris-

ing generation appear most interested in the Irish language as a means to "Ireland a nation."

It is not altogether to the discredit of Catholic peoples that religious considerations, as compared to political, weigh more than with Protestants. But Catholics cannot complain if consequently they find their progress towards political freedom more difficult; and Protestants who desire to help must prepare themselves for many disappointments. As to leaders, Ireland is beginning to find herself somewhat in the position of the Liberal party in England. The efflux of time has tended to break down the old standard-bearers, and few new ones show themselves. Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Blake are in poor health. Mr. Sexton and Mr. Healy have practically retired. Mr. Davitt seems estranged. Mr. Redmond as a leader appears very much alone. Funds, though still generously contributed by many districts, do not, according to newspaper accounts, come in as freely as even a year ago. As much was contributed in "Peter's Pence" in the Diocese of Dublin upon one day a few weeks ago, as has been sent in in several years from the same district to the Irish League and party. Foreign contributions have very much fallen off. The generations that carried with them abroad experiences of the famine and ensuing clearances, and the bitter feelings existent before Disestablishment and Land Reform, are rapidly passing away. It is evident that the Parnell split, thirteen years ago, was used as an excuse for political inaction by multitudes who were in reality tired of agitation. There is an Irish party as closely united as there was before, yet few of the objectors on the score of disunion have come back. The continuance of an Irish movement depends upon the maintenance of an Irish party in Parliament. This hitherto has depended upon the existence of a widespread living organization throughout Ireland, and this again upon the desire for and hope of land reform. In the present temper of those who heretofore have voiced and guided Irish feeling, it is difficult to understand how for some time to come the United Irish League can be much more than an advisory body. It remains to be seen whether this will keep alive the enthusiasm necessary for the maintenance of a party, or whether to the same end there is sufficient desire in the country for Home Rule on its own merits.

D. B.

WHISTLER.

LONDON, August 1, 1903.

The first shock of surprise is over. There has been time to get accustomed to the thought that Whistler is dead. The first perfunctory notices have been rushed into the papers; here and there the rare appreciation by those who knew and felt the loss has appeared. Now, in the calmer moment that follows, it is interesting to sum up all that has been said and written, and to realize just how much or how little Whistler and his art are understood.

To me it is extraordinary to find how unwilling, even yet, the world is to acknowledge one of the few modern masters who, by less timid generations, will be ranked with the greatest of all time. In most of the notices published, especially in the Eng-

lish press, a few facts, usually wrong, have been stated; the familiar anecdotes, usually with the point blunted, have been told; the eccentricities of the man have been exaggerated, the qualities of the artist passed over as quickly as possible. Now and then it has been easy to read between the lines the spite of the critic who, having writhed under the sharp strokes of Whistler's wit, has bided his time until it was safe to pay off old scores. Almost always it has been only too plain to see the hesitation with which the writer has offered his praise. For though, at the end, Whistler triumphed; though the acknowledgment he received from all over the world forced the British public also to accept him as something more than a coxcomb flinging a pot of paint in its face, it is evident that the old distrust lingered, strong as ever, under a veneer of polite recognition. It seems as if the critics—those "ready writers," as Whistler called them—having found themselves once on the wrong side by their ridicule, are in fear lest, by unqualified approval now, they may find themselves there again and this time forever. They have not got over their old uncertainty as to whether he should be taken seriously or not. They remember his laughter and tremble, doubtful whether, after all, he has not left, with his work, a great jest as his bequest to the world. For the most wonderful thing, perhaps, in Whistler's wonderful career is that he, the most serious artist who ever lived, should have passed with his contemporaries as nothing more than a gay, irresponsible jester.

Of this seriousness, those who knew him and heard him talk, those who read his books and letters with understanding, those who looked at his pictures with intelligence, could never, however, have had a doubt. It was at the very root of the man's nature, of the artist's accomplishment. People were bewildered by his quick and brilliant witticisms, his amazing letters. They mistook for fun what was meant in all earnestness, for exuberance of spirits what was done deliberately and with a purpose. His weapons, his arguments, were not those of other men; that was the only difference. Whistler, as any one who reads may know, had an eminently logical mind, and every little word, every little letter, light as it might seem, was used by him as a means to the same great end. There are many who have criticised him for collecting his letters from the newspapers and publishing them in permanent form; even some of his friends at times have regretted certain encounters with the enemy they thought unworthy of his notice. But whether right or wrong in the choice of weapons with which he armed himself, he was always great in the object he had at heart, always consistent in his uncompromising belief and devotion to his art. His letters, his controversies, his newspaper correspondences, his "Ten o'Clock," his Catalogues, his "Gentle Art," his "Baronet and the Butterfly" were so many records of this faith and the good fight he fought for it. And the care he gave to the least of his writings, the beauty of his style, the rhythm of every sentence, were so many proofs that art—the art of words as the art of paint—was to him sacred. Hitherto, most people have been preoccupied with the subjects of his letters and books, of his battles in print

and his battles in court. But in the days to come, when the battles have no more importance, save that which he and his name will give them, his distinction as a writer of terse, musical English will be remembered.

It is, however, above all in his work as painter, etcher, and lithographer that he was most consistent, most logical; with every stroke of the brush, every line of the needle, every touch of the chalk, he confessed his artistic creed. It was the fashion at one time to reproach him with want of knowledge: he had not mastered the elements of drawing, the subtleties of form. It was said by those who could see but vagueness in the Nocturnes and but slovenliness in the Venetian etchings. In saying it, however, they showed how little they knew of his earlier work or how quickly they had forgotten it. The London etchings, done when he was a mere youth, when no doubt he was still thought a student, are simply marvels of the detail which seems to be what the critic who clamors so loudly for "drawing" demands. Who has ever drawn the picturesque, tumbled-down wharves and boathouses, the factories along the Thames, which he himself has immortalized in that memorable passage of the "Ten o'Clock," as he did? Here is no slurring over, no pretence of generalization as an escape from difficulties, no empty suggestion in the avoidance of fact. Everything is elaborated, carried out with a degree of minuteness the Pre-Raphaelites must have envied, and yet subordinated to the effect, to the composition as a whole—already the work of the master. And it is the same with the paintings. Look at the first pictures—"The White Girl," "At the Piano," the portrait of his mother. What shirking is there here, what hesitation, what timidity, what compromise? In all of these early paintings there is the sound, certain drawing that the great men of his generation were taught to look upon as the first essential, the basis of all art, just as Michelangelo declared it to be to the miniature painter, D'Olanda, whose Dialogues waited until yesterday for publication. Courbet was probably the master for whom the young Whistler had most respect, by whom he was most influenced; and Courbet had pushed his love of truth, his belief in realism, almost to the verge of violence. At the Paris Exhibition in 1900 one felt nothing so much as this insistence upon vigorous drawing and exact rendering of detail in the early work of Manet and the others, whom, with Whistler, M. Duret, in those old days, introduced to the public as *l'Avant-Garde*—the advance guard of all that is sound and beautiful and great in modern art. It is because of their splendid drawing that these first pictures of Whistler's are the masterpieces that the few have always seen in them. It is hard to understand how any one can look at the graceful figure sitting "at the piano" and all the detail in the room, at the lace cap and the quiet old hands folded over the handkerchief in the portrait of his mother, and question his knowledge, his supreme mastery, of the subtlety of form. Where is subtlety if it is not here? These pictures are, indeed, as perfect as anything he ever painted, for, as he himself might have explained, there can be no question of degree in perfection.

But because of his complete knowledge,

as time went on he was able, when his subject required it, to dispense with elaboration, with detail. Because they cannot see this detail, because they cannot count the windows and number the floors in every factory along the river bank, the critics cry out that there is no drawing in his Nocturnes; as if, had he not known just what to leave out, had he not solved for himself the problem of selection—one of the most difficult of all problems for the artist—he could have rendered the loveliness of the London twilight, the haunting beauty of the London atmosphere, which he was the first to reveal to the world. I sometimes wish I could have the critics with me at my window as I watch the London day fading into blue or opal mystery—into the fairyland of the Thames, where what seemed to me brewery and shotworks in the disillusioning light of the dull London sunshine, becomes palaces in the night; then they might realize the astonishing truth there is in the Nocturnes which they were too dense, and the artists too envious, to think anything better than the vaguest dreams—the most careless dreams—on canvas. And so with Whistler's later portraits: they became simpler because he knew, as the lesser artist never can know and the critic does not want to know, what is essential and how to leave out all that is not—a knowledge, it is true, founded upon genius, but developed only by the endlessly loving study and labor of the serious student of Nature.

In the same manner, he may have insisted less upon detail in his later etchings, in the Venice and Dutch sets. He hinted where before he had given a minute statement. But it was solely because what he had to say could be better said in this fashion, could not have been said at all had not his control over, his grasp of, the lesser facts been complete. I have hanging on my wall one of the London set, the "Chelsea," and one of the Venetian, the "Traghetto," and I cannot look at them without feeling how perfect each is in its way, how logically the later print is the result, the outcome, of the earlier. The lithographs all belong to the later period, so that all have the breadth more characteristic of this period. But from first to last, in everything he did, there was a seriousness, a quality, that should help the least intelligent to understand what he meant when he declared, to the scandal of the easily scandalized British public, that "there never was an artistic period"—that art knows neither time nor nationality, but is always the same, whenever and wherever it "happens," always immortal.

It is also with a desire to prove him superficial, not serious, that even the better-informed critics of the moment have pointed to a lack of imagination in his work. Imagination exists in the portrait of his mother; they cannot well deny it. But, discovering that his standpoint, his personal attitude towards his sitter or subject, was not exactly the same in the works that came after, they lament the loss of imagination, searching for ingenious reasons in his theories of art, his absorbed concern with pattern, to account for it; never having the perception to see that, as his subjects and sitters changed, so did his way of looking at them and rendering them—a proof really of imagination, not of its loss. Some

of the finest of his recent pictures have not been shown, but in his comparatively late etchings of the "Naval Review at Spithead," in his lithographs of people and places, in some of the exquisite marines he has exhibited in the course of the last ten years or so, there is as much individuality, as much originality of observation—and, as I say, this means imagination in the painter—as can be found in the early works which, rejected alike at the Salon and the Royal Academy, are now struggled for by collectors and dealers. Again, it is objected that he never had the vigor, the power to attempt a large composition in the manner of the Old Masters; that he might paint a portrait of a single figure, but could never design and execute a great group. Who, however, can say what he might have achieved had the conditions been different; had he, in his youth, like Velasquez, met a patron like Philip IV., and been given not only every opportunity, but every encouragement to do what he liked, as he liked, on as large or small a scale as he liked? Place Velasquez in the London of 1860 and 1870, and would the "Meninas," the "Lances," the "Spinners" have been painted?

But there is no occasion to speculate as to what Whistler might have done. By his actual accomplishment, his work will live long after the petty criticism and ill-natured attacks of the critics, the stupidity of patrons, and the jealousies of artists have been forgotten. If I dwell upon these things now, it is only because it seems to me that for the moment, in the revival of old controversies and old stories, the one important fact, the greatness of Whistler, is being lost sight of; and we have not so many great men in our midst that we can afford to lose one of the greatest with indifference, almost with contempt. If Whistler was hard and unrelenting to those who offended him, it was only because he had the courage to be true to the faith that was in him. He was steadfast in his friendships as in his enmities—the reason why his charm as a friend was no less than his greatness as an artist.

N. N.

Correspondence.

NEWSPAPER RESPONSIBILITY FOR LAWLESSNESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To what extent are the newspapers responsible for the prevailing spirit of lawlessness so forcibly condemned in your powerful editorial of August 6 on lynching? They certainly have contributed to it in various ways, and especially by sensationalism and by the reckless dissemination of false and pernicious ideas. Examples of the latter occur daily. My morning paper yesterday devoted five-eighths of its first page to reports of murders and other atrocities, and my evening paper warmed over the same dish, giving most harrowing details of one of the murders and adding matter which could not fail to be harmful.

The murder was committed by a jealous husband (one Ismond, a barber), who claimed that, on going home in the evening, he found his wife and his victim (a friend of his, named McLeod) sitting on the same

sofa. Following are extracts from the report:

"Ismond is given a good character by the neighbors and by his fellow-workers. The neighbors seem to justify him. 'The only mistake he made was in not killing both of them,' said a gray-haired woman across the road, 'if what he suspected is true.' Even some of the police incline to the view that Ismond was, if not legally, at least morally, justifiable if he found the pair in a compromising position. . . . and the statement is openly made in the Central Station that Ismond appears to have struck where a blow was called for."

And to-day my morning paper quotes Police Superintendent Downey as saying: "As near as I can make out, Ismond was justified in his cause."

Could anything be better calculated than this to foster and encourage the spirit of lawlessness which is already so developed that it is to-day a great, if not our greatest, national peril? In thus reporting public sentiment and the views of the police authorities, it is assumed by necessary implication that a wronged husband is justified in killing; and that when, for any reason, a husband thinks he has been wronged, the proper thing for him to do is to promptly kill the suspected person, and afterwards find out through the medium of a murder trial whether his suspicions were well grounded. The great majority of those who read these accounts accept newspaper statements as authoritative, and many of them, especially the more dangerous ones, are greatly encouraged by such utterances to take the law into their own hands whenever they think that a wrong has been committed. The newspapers are now making laudable efforts to put down the prevalent spirit of lawlessness, but can they not render their best service in this direction by carefully refraining from utterances which encourage that spirit, and by severely condemning such utterances, especially when they come from police officers or others in authority?

B.

DETROIT, August 11, 1903.

THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of the 16th instant (which reached me here only to-day), in the editorial article entitled "Judge Parker on the Fourteenth Amendment," you express the opinion, or rather, you make the statement, that, under the power conferred by the last section of the Fourteenth Amendment, though "Congress has never adopted the 'appropriate legislation' to carry out this part of the amendment"—that is, the penalty for disfranchisement prescribed in the second section—"it has full power to do so," and that this "admits of no doubt." I assume that the "power" here referred to is power conferred by the last section of the Fourteenth Amendment.

I have, however, just been reading in the *Springfield Republican* of the 13th instant an editorial article which, with confidence equal to yours, declares that, until the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress cannot enforce the penalty for disfranchisement which the Fourteenth Amendment prescribes. The *Republican* quotes Mr. Charles A. Gardiner as holding the same view in his address be-

fore the Convocation of the University of the State of New York on the 12th instant.

There is, then, I will not say doubt, but difference of opinion, on the point. I have not seen Mr. Gardiner's address, but the *Republican's* argument is briefly this: that the Fifteenth Amendment supersedes the Fourteenth; that the Fifteenth Amendment prohibits disfranchisement on account of race, color, etc., which the Fourteenth Amendment did not do; that hence any act or action of a State done since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment which constitutes disfranchisement for the causes named, would be void as contravening the last-named amendment; that, being void, such act or action of a State would be of no effect and could not be made the ground of reducing the representation of such State, though this could have been done before the adoption of the last amendment. In other words, that the act of a State in making such disfranchisement would have to be regarded as valid in order to warrant the enforcement of the penalty prescribed in the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The question is most interesting, and may be of great practical importance; but my present object is, not to discuss it, but merely to call it to your notice in the hope that you may discuss it or remark upon it.—Yours respectfully,

D. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

LONDON, July 30, 1903.

[We do not feel sure that Mr. Chamberlain has correctly understood the *Republican's* article.—ED. NATION.]

SUMNER'S METAPHOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (second series, vol. 16) will be found an admirable paper of the President of the Society, Charles Francis Adams, read at the October meeting, 1902, as a tribute of respect to the memory of their late associate, Mr. Justice Gray of the Supreme Court of the United States. Speaking of the influence of that distinguished Judge, in the case of *Juilliard vs. Greenman*, which deals with the right of Congress under the Constitution to make paper money legal tender, Mr. Adams employs the following expression:

"To use the metaphor of Charles Sumner, the medicine of the Constitution was under these conditions pronounced its daily food" (page 262).

Sumner, it will be recalled, once introduced this phrase in a speech to great effect. For years I had supposed that the figure was original with the Massachusetts Senator. He must, however, have taken it from Edmund Burke, for the following sentence is to be found in the "Reflections on the Revolution in France" (1790):

"I confess to you, sir, I never liked this continual talk of resistance and revolution, or the practice of making the extreme medicine of the Constitution its daily bread" (*Burke's Works*, Am. ed. [1807], vol. 3, p. 79).

F. W. H.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 11, 1903.

Notes.

Cleveland has made a conspicuous position for itself as a new centre of fine book-making and of large publishing ventures. The Imperial Press is the latest aspirant in the former direction, and has provided itself with a general supervisor, a superintendent, and an artist binder. It will begin with a treatise on 'Printing in Relation to Graphic Art,' by Mr. George French, issued in a limited edition, with "printed specifications detailing the processes employed and the material used." In the same city the Ormeril Company announces that, having bought of Messrs. Appleton their "Collection of Foreign Authors," it will greatly extend it by adding translations from the best modern writers of Spain, Italy, and other European countries.

Campion & Co., Philadelphia, will soon have ready 'The Life and Times of Thomas Smith, 1745-1809,' by Burton Alva Konkle. Smith was a Pennsylvania Member of the Continental Congress and a Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, as well as a leading surveyor of the Indian Purchase of 1768. The edition will be limited. Numerous portrait and other illustrations are promised.

Frederick A. Stokes Co. will be the American publishers of the series, entitled "The Story of Exploration," to be edited by Dr. Scott Keltie of the Royal Geographical Society, beginning with 'The Nile Quest,' by Sir Harry Johnston. An Arctic explorer's daughter, herself the subject of Mrs. Peary's 'The Snow Baby,' has written a book called 'Children of the Arctic,' to be brought out in the autumn by the same firm. Marie Ahnighito Peary is nine years of age, but her mother has lent a helping hand.

Doubleday, Page & Co.'s autumn announcements include a new Atlas of the Moon, by Professor Pickering; a 'Color Key to North American Birds,' by Frank M. Chapman; 'The Moth Book,' by Dr. J. W. Holland, with more than a thousand colored illustrations; 'American Masters of Sculpture,' by Charles Caffin; 'Driving,' a manual by Francis W. Ware; and Mme. Le Brun's Memoirs translated by Lionel Strachey.

'Fairy Legends of the French Provinces,' translated from the original, with an introduction by Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, and illustrated, is in the press of T. Y. Crowell & Co.

L. C. Page & Co., Boston, will publish 'The Cathedrals of Northern France,' by Francis Miltoun, with eighty illustrations by Blanche McManus (Mrs. M. F. Mansfield).

A 'History of Socialism in the United States,' by Morris Hillquit, is in the press of Funk & Wagnalls Co.

Mr. Lewis Harman Peet, whose 'Trees and Shrubs of Prospect Park,' Brooklyn, we lately noticed, is engaged upon a work performing the same service for Central Park in this city.

Six more volumes of the "Fireside Dickens" have appeared (London: Chapman & Hall; New York: H. Frowde), viz., 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' 'A Tale of Two Cities,' 'Hard Times,' 'David Copperfield,' 'Dombey & Son,' and a group of Reprinted Pieces. We have already spoken of this unpretentious series

as plain to the eye, inexpensive, and equipped with the classic original designs of Cruikshank, "Phiz," and others.

An interesting survival is Walker's 'Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language,' revised and enlarged by J. Longmuir (London: Routledge; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.). The work is now more than a century and a quarter old, antedating Goethe's complaint of the multitude who "singen und reden"; but Dr. Longmuir's preface seems nearly as ancient, drawing examples from no Victorian poet later in emerging than Tennyson, and showing a marked preference for sacred poetry. One may not rashly deny that a poet of high degree would resort to a crutch like this, as in the stress of a sonnet, for example; but a rhyming dictionary is essentially for rhymesters. A curious plea for this one is advanced in respect to the assistance afforded in deciphering mutilated telegrams, and the Morse alphabet is appended as a means of detecting the probable source of error.

A somewhat exceptional value attaches to Professor Rhys-Davids's 'Buddhist India,' the latest addition to "The Story of the Nations" series (Putnams), from the fact that it is based largely upon data hitherto published only in monographic form. The picture of India drawn from Buddhist records differs materially from that given by the Brahmans, and there can be no doubt that the former, utilized in this volume, is the more credible. The village, social grades, economic conditions, and religion, each receive a chapter in which the available facts are clearly and simply set forth. While offering nothing new to the specialist, the general reader will find this book a good guide to the understanding of the social condition of ancient India. A slip occurring at the outset (p. 2), to the effect that the existence of republics in India in the sixth century B. C. "has remained hitherto unnoticed by scholars," affects only Lassen and others who might protest. The author inveighs rather bitterly against the "supine and placid" English Government for its indifference to archaeological investigation, and records the surprising fact that there is no chair of Assyriology and only two of Sanskrit in all England. The book is well illustrated, and has an incomplete index.

In a double volume (ix., x.) Dr. Rodkinson's translation of the Babylonian Talmud has now completed the section "Jurisprudence" with the tractates "Makkoth," "Shebu'oth," "Eduyoth," "Aboda Zara," and "Horioth." Of these "Aboda Zara," dealing with the whole subject of intercourse between Jews and idolaters, is by far the most interesting. It is full of the most curious scraps of twisted history and folklore.

The tenth volume of the 'New International Encyclopedia' (Dodd, Mead & Co.) extends from Infamy to Larramendi. It thus embraces a number of important articles, such as Insects, Insurance, Ireland, Iron (with various sub-rubrics), Italy, Japan, Jews, Knowledge, Labor (also with many sub-rubrics). All these rise to the level which may be fairly required, and the Encyclopedia as a whole is steadily improving and shows very much fewer of the remarkable weaknesses which characterized its early volumes. Yet they still appear sporadically. Sudermann's "Katzensteg" is

dignified with eighteen lines; the Semitic proof-reading could be much improved; bibliographies—especially historical and geographical—are still too often lacking; and the illustrations are conspicuously, though expensively, inadequate. The maps are peculiarly poor; this holds, it is true, to a certain extent, of encyclopedic atlases in general. But these details must not obscure the patent fact of steady and great improvement.

An addition to our scanty stock of Hausa prose is a collection—seven pages only—of short pieces, descriptive of Hausa life, written by a Hausa and now edited with translation and vocabulary by W. H. Brooks and L. H. Nott ('Batū na Abūbuan Hausa,' Henry Frowde). The vocabulary is very elaborate in its exposition of Hausa usage, but makes absolutely no attempt at etymology. Thus the Arabic element is left undistinguished, a course which cannot but react upon considerations of even purely Hausa grammar. Further, points are left out, through this, which will puzzle the learner. For example: "Tūri Sinā" is reproduced in the translation "Turi Sinai," and "Tūri" is left unexplained in the vocabulary. Of course, it is simply the Arabic *Tūr*, "rock," always combined in Arabic with Sinai. That the kinship of another side of the vocabulary with ancient Egyptian is also left unnoticed is not so surprising. The subject is somewhat recondite, and a discussion of it would not be immediately useful. Nevertheless, scientific study of Hausa will undoubtedly have to reckon with it.

Volume XIX. of the "Monographien zur Weltgeschichte" (Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing; New York: Lemcke & Buechner), is 'Die Deutsche Hanse,' by Prof. Dietrich Schäfer. It is an admirable study, in a short monograph, of the Hanse towns. The book is well illustrated, with photographs of paintings and statuary and of characteristic bits of architecture, and with facsimiles of charters and documents. It is a pity that we have nothing in English corresponding to these excellent monographs, and at popular prices. Several other volumes are advertised to appear in the near future, dealing with such a variety of subjects as the Romans in Germany, the false Demetrius, Maria Theresa, Napoleon I., and the history of the United States.

The numerous archaeological finds in Vienna, in recent years, which have made clearer than ever the picture of the strong Roman frontier fastness at this place, have now been collected and scientifically arranged in the new Museum Vindobonense. For the present the collection has been placed in one of the public schools of the city, but a new museum building is to be erected in the near future. A special committee of the City Council has charge of these treasures.

Arrangements are being made to celebrate the first centennial of the Berlin University in 1910. Already in July, 1809, Frederick William III., at the period of the lowest political subjection of Prussia to Napoleon, published an order for the establishment of this institution, and on the 10th of October, 1810, the Secretary of Education directed the authorities to begin the matriculation of students. The exact day of the celebration is to be determined by the Emperor, but Professor Lenz, Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, has been entrusted with the task of preparing a history

of the University, and the new supplementary building projected will be seasonably completed.

In honor of the centennial celebration of the University of Heidelberg, already mentioned in these columns, two memorial volumes on the famous teachers of the Ruperto-Carola and their work during the past century are to be published by the house of Carl Winter. All the departments of the University will be represented, and the work will thoroughly exhibit the scientific work done by the oldest German university during the period in question. Sixteen of the Heidelberg professors have united in preparing it, and the general introduction is from the pen of Dr. Fritz Schöll.

In November of the present year the city library of Ferrara will celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. In memory of this the authorities have decided to publish in facsimile, under the editorship of Prof. Giuseppe Agnelli, its most famous literary treasure, namely, the autographic fragments of the 'Orlando Furioso' of Ariosto. The volume will consist of 53 sheets in 106 photographic plates, and will contain a portrait of Ariosto, after the original by Titian, together with an introduction by the editor.

It is in France that they know how to recognize distinguished merit with justice and without prejudice. Miss Jamieson, a Scotch woman, who took first-class honors last year at the University of Edinburgh and who holds the Heriot travelling scholarship given by that institution, has been appointed professor of the English language at the Grenoble University. The Rector of Grenoble first consulted the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Chaumie, in regard to this appointment, and it was consequently made with due form. Any one who has noticed how poor the English instruction frequently is in Continental universities will be glad that it has fallen in this case into presumably competent hands.

—In the midsummer number of the *International Monthly* the difficult problems that the charitably-minded are called upon to discuss in these days, before they can feel it safe to give way to their generous impulses, are ably handled by Professor Schwiedland and by Mrs. Helen (Dendy) Bosanquet. Professor Sanford, in his article on "The Psychic Life of Fishes," gives, as was to be expected, exactly the sort of discussion of an intricate scientific question that the layman needs to have, and points out in passing how wide is the field for experiment that awaits tilling in the whole subject of animal intelligence. Professor Ostwald succeeds no better in settling the problem of the universe in an article of sixteen pages than he does in his fascinating but unsatisfactory volume on 'Naturphilosophie'; and Mr. Guthrie, in "The Theory of the Comic," falls below the level of this Review in both the value and the dignity of his contribution—not to mention the correction of proof, as in "Zarathustra" of Nietzsche. The article that will appeal to the widest circle of readers is the sympathetic account of the life and work of Herman Grimm, by his niece, who was also his friend and correspondent, the Baroness von Heyking. Grimm was of an old Hessian family of Protestant clergymen, in which intellectual

work was the tradition of centuries. His father and uncle, the brothers William and Jacob, were called from Cassel to Göttingen in 1829, at a time when that short distance seemed so long that they felt like strangers in a far country; Jacob Grimm's first lecture in the University was on the subject of homesickness. The brothers Grimm were of the famous "Göttingen seven," whose protest against the arbitrary abrogation of the Hanover Constitution by the new King, the Duke of Cumberland, led to their expulsion from the University and from Hanover—an event which is still commemorated in Göttingen by a modest monument. At the time, this heroic act aroused great enthusiasm, and the impression which it made on the young Herman, who was less than ten years old, was profound—he attributed to it his first historical convictions. It was through the efforts of Bettina von Arnim, with whom Frederick William IV. was on terms of friendship, that the two brothers were called to the Academy of Sciences at Berlin; at her house Herman was a constant visitor, first as a child and then as a young man, and her gifted daughter, Gisela, poetess and dramatist, became his wife.

—In the course of the operations of the Seven Years' War, three successive English expeditions were sent against the French position at the forks of the Ohio. To these expeditions and their consequences, both immediate and remote, are allotted three volumes of Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert's series of monographs on "Historic Highways" (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.)—Volume 3, 'Washington's Road,' Volume 4, 'Braddock's Road,' Volume 5, 'The Old Glade (Forbes's) Road.' Washington, in 1754, followed from Fort Cumberland to his encounter with Jumonville an Indian trail known as "Nemacolin's Path." Braddock, in 1755, took the same general route, constructing a rough but practicable road, which marked the course for the Cumberland Road, of vast importance to our title to and occupation of the West. "In certain localities this famed national boulevard, the Cumberland Road, was built upon the very bed of Braddock's road, as Braddock's road had been built partly upon the early Washington's road which followed the path of the Indian, buffalo, and mound-building aborigines. Nowhere in America can the evolution of road-building be studied to such advantage as between Cumberland, Maryland, and Uniontown, Pennsylvania." Forbes, in 1758, struck an entirely new line. Washington and the Virginians urged him to improve Braddock's road, but Bouquet pointed out that a more northerly route, through Pennsylvania, might be longer in opening, but would be much shorter in using. There was jealousy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, already disputing each other's rights in the West, for it was seen that the possession of the headwaters of the Ohio would most likely pass to the colony which gained the road. Forbes selected the Pennsylvania route, and Pittsburg became a Pennsylvania town. During Pontiac's War and the Revolution, Forbes's road helped mightily in holding the West, for "it was the one fortified route to the Ohio." In 1785 Pennsylvania laid out the Chambersburg-Pittsburg pike along its course.

—Our appreciation of this excellent series

we have already expressed. The fine conception of increasing, it might almost be said of creating, our accurate knowledge of the channels in which the streams of our history have flowed, deserves more than passing praise. It is with the greater regret that the marked unevenness of execution is noted. The author is at his best, and his best is very good, when arranging evidence, tracing the course of a highway, and pointing out the causes of that course, with its results, military, political, and commercial. Unfortunately, he is not content to let his monograph be a monograph, but must needs interrupt it from time to time with pages of rhapsody and fine writing, in which probabilities and logic, as well as dates and other facts, are ridden over roughshod. The book would be stronger if most of these fine passages were relentlessly cut out, and the space gained used to increase the detailed study and compilation of facts to which the work owes its value. Somehow, the errors of statement gravitate to these irrelevant paragraphs. "The thin line of scarlet-uniformed Virginians" has a captivating sound, but what evidence is there of its existence? Whether red, blue, or nondescript their uniforms, it was not in 1753 that they yielded Fort Necessity. Jacques Cartier was at Quebec many times, but "in the year fifteen hundred and forty" he neither "raised at Quebec a white cross crowned with the fleur-de-lis of France," nor "set the tide of French trade and exploration—this tide of trappers, merchants, Jesuits, and adventurers—over the Ottawa rather than up the St. Lawrence," for he was safe at home in France all the year. The one he may have done in 1536, but the other was the achievement of another man in another century. "Gaelic" is a curious synonym for "French," and it may be to its subtle suggestions that we owe the substitution of whiskey for brandy in the list of articles of French commerce. Beaujeu had 880 men (vol. 4, p. 123) against Braddock's 1,400 (*ibid.*, p. 130), and so in the death-trap by the Monongahela "that desperate handful of French and Indians put to flight an army of five times its own number" (vol. 3, p. 98). Is "Braddock's Grave," beside the road which Braddock built, the actual resting-place of Braddock? The author thinks he has "made it plain that this is not definitely known to be true," yet he says that the bones are "undoubtedly" Braddock's. The distinction is a very delicate one. The story of these expeditions and the roads thereunto appertaining would gain much in value and intelligibility if illustrated by a single good map of the territory, showing ancient and modern routes. We regret that these three volumes have not for a companion an account of the Iroquois trail through central New York and the expedition of Prideaux and Johnson against Fort Niagara. In the fight for the West the campaign was critical and decisive. In both aboriginal and modern times this pathway between the ocean and the lakes has had a singular character and importance. Together they should receive in a work of this scope more than the passing mention accorded.

—The sixth volume of the 'Writings of James Monroe' (Putnams) includes what Mr. Hamilton has found of his letters and papers from his inauguration in 1817 to his famous message of 1823. It must be admitted that the result is disappointing in

more senses than one. Apart from Monroe's letters to Jefferson and Madison, there is little that is new, and less that is either suggestive or important. A President's message is usually a composite work, built upon the suggestions of his advisers, and intended for political effect rather than as an enunciation of individual convictions. Monroe was not a very decided character save where his suspicions were allowed free play, and these formal state papers make dreary reading. Of Monroe's relations with the members of his Cabinet we see almost nothing, due largely to the fact that Mr. Hamilton has not gone outside of the Monroe collection in the Department of State. He prints only one letter to Calhoun, one to Crawford, a general letter to his Cabinet, and a single Cabinet memorandum. In the case of Adams, the result is somewhat better, for twelve letters are printed, although more than twenty times that number are available. The general meagreness of the volume is emphasized by the devotion of one hundred pages to papers (not Monroe's) bearing upon the message of 1823, which add nothing to what was already known.

—The most notable incident in this period, outside of the recognition of the South American republics, was the Missouri Compromise. It takes on a new interest because of the light it throws upon Monroe's capacities. Never a great man, he stumbled into the Presidency by sheer good fortune, and his rule is described as the "era of good feeling." It was not such from any act of Monroe, and the office, in place of broadening his mind, left it in all its petty meanness and extraordinary suspiciousness. This is shown in his view of the Missouri question. To him no moral question was involved—the right or the wrong of slavery, and the injury it inflicted upon the section of the country where it prevailed. He harked back to an old grievance, the Jay incident of 1785-6, and the proposition made at that time to yield the claim to a free navigation of the Mississippi. That proposition, in Monroe's opinion, was an effort to secure dominion for the Eastern States by dismemberment of the Union. Jay wished to make New York a New England State. The one attempt was frustrated by the self-sacrifice of some Southern members (meaning himself); the other, by the differences with Vermont on land grants. Then followed the "march to greatness" of the South, which the Northerners sought again to impede by the Hartford Convention and the proposition for restricting Missouri. All this is very silly, but it is illuminative of Monroe, who suffers not only in his own writings, but in the injudicious treatment of them by his editor.

—The Laws of Hammurabi, like 'Babel und Bibel,' continue to call forth an abundant literature. Unquestionably this code is the most important discovery hitherto made in Babylonian research. It is important not only in the study of the development of Babylonian history and culture, but also and primarily in the story of world culture. The three fragments of the stele containing these laws were discovered by De Morgan in Susa in December and January, 1901-02, and both the text (photographic reproduction) and a translation by Father Schell were

published with most commendable promptness in the fourth volume of the monumental *Memoirs of the French expedition at the close of the same year, 1902*. A translation into German was speedily issued by Dr. Winckler, with introduction and notes, published by the *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft* as the fourth number of the fourth volume of its admirable series of pamphlets entitled 'Der alte Orient.' This translation, which was a decided improvement on the French translation of Schell, has been made the basis of a second pamphlet, entitled 'Moses und Hammurabi,' by Dr. Johannes Jeremias, in which the latter undertakes to analyze the code and compare it in detail with the Hebrew laws, and especially with the oldest code of those laws contained in the so-called Book of the Covenant (Exodus xx.-xxiii.). Striking are the points of resemblance brought out by this comparison, but almost equally striking are the points of divergence. Jeremias, claiming Hammurabi as an Arab of an Arabian dynasty which had conquered Babylon, concludes: "We have, therefore, ground for the hypothesis that traces are found in the old Arabian right and use which point to a common tradition for both Moses and Hammurabi, having its origin in Arabia." To us it seems rather that his evidence would point to a secondary derivation of the Hebrew from the Babylonian law through the medium of the Canaanites, who were, for many centuries, as Jeremias points out, under Babylonian rule or Babylonian influence. Hammurabi's laws have been translated into English by C. H. W. Johns, Lecturer in Assyriology at Queen's College, Cambridge, under the title, 'The Oldest Code of Laws in the World' (Scribners). Of this translation, altogether without note or comment, we have already spoken. In the preface, Mr. Johns says that Winckler's translation came into his hands after his work had been sent to the publishers. It is a pity that he could not have had the advantage of that translation for comparison. His own leaves much to be desired, and is by no means so good as the English translation, based largely on Winckler's, which was published by the American scholar, Dr. William Hayes Ward, in the *Independent* some months since.

—The excitement produced by Delitzsch's lectures on 'Babel und Bibel' continues in Germany, and produces a constantly increasing number of pamphlets dealing either directly with Delitzsch's discussion or with Babylonian explorations and their bearings on the Bible. Among the pamphlets published by the *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft* in 'Der alte Orient' series, in its second volume, was one entitled 'Biblische und Babylonische Urgeschichte,' by Prof. Heinrich Zimmern of Leipzig. This has now been issued in a third (revised) edition, under date of 1903, to bring it abreast of the present discussion. Dr. Winckler has also issued a pamphlet entitled 'Abraham als Babylonier: Joseph als Aegyptier,' in which he attempts to prove that the story of Abraham in the Bible indicates a consciousness on the part of the Israelites that their religion had its origin in Babylon before the reforming efforts of Hammurabi. Abraham represents the purer, more ancient religion, which, finding the reforms of Hammurabi incompatible with its practices and aspirations, migrated westward. Joseph is supposed in the same way to represent those

monotheistic and Asiatic tendencies which showed themselves in Egyptian religion in the time of Amenophis IV., and is practically identified with the Jachamu whom this king appointed as his representative or viceroy in the delta of the Nile, the granary of Egypt. The overthrow of Amenophis's dynasty and religion after his death under the lead of the priests of Thebes ushers in the oppression of the Israelites under the new Pharaoh in Egypt. Winckler's views are somewhat fanciful, and not altogether free from the suggestion of theological motive.

EGYPTIAN LIFE UNDER THE PTOLEMIES.

The Tebtunis Papyri. Part I. Edited by Bernard P. Grenfell, D.Litt., M.A., Arthur S. Hunt, D.Litt., M.A., and G. Gilbert Smyly, M.A. Oxford University Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1902.

The source of this bulky volume of 674 pages was most whimsical and unexpected. The papyri which are here deciphered and interpreted were derived exclusively from the wrappings of mummified crocodiles unearthed in the Fayûm about three years ago. This mummification was the work of pious votaries in honor of the crocodile deity, Sobk, worshipped throughout the Arsinoite nome. A good-sized crocodile of three or four metres in length requires a wrapping of corresponding size. Hence these papyri are unusually large, many containing one or two hundred lines, while the longest is exceeded only by the Revenue Papyrus of Philadelphus. As a matter of convenience the crocodiles are numbered, and the provenance of MSS. indicated accordingly. No. 27, the most literate of these animals, furnished about two-score distinct documents. The dates of these are, in the main, exactly determined, and they range from 120 to 56 B. C.

The chief value of the present volume (which is shortly to be followed by two others) is to illustrate the economic and, to some extent, the social conditions of Egypt within this period; and for this purpose it is a collection of capital importance. It enables us also to revise and to amend certain misleading historical judgments. The reputation of Euergetes II., as handed down by Diodorus, Josephus, and Justin, is preposterously and fantastically bad. He is painted as a monster of wickedness, whose enormities are hardly lightened by a taste for literature and a pretty talent for Homeric criticism. He was so hated, Justin tells us, that he was forced by an uprising to flee the country to Cyprus, and the sovereignty was conferred by the Alexandrians upon his sister and discarded wife, Cleopatra II. To spite her he murders their son Memphites and sends her the mutilated remains in a box. Memphites was born a year after their marriage, which Euergetes had celebrated by murdering in public, before the eyes of his bride, her own son, Philopator II. But these peccadilloes were all forgiven and forgotten; for later we find in the royal decrees this same Cleopatra "the sister" associated with the name of Euergetes and Cleopatra "the wife." If we accept this nightmare as history, it is not easy to guess upon what meat these Ptolemies and Cleopatras fed; yet some historical scholars have accepted

such tales without demur. Professor Mahaffy, writing eight or nine years ago, shrewdly surmised that we must take this farrago with many grains of salt, and observed that this Egyptian Nero reigned over a country which was well administered; he cited, for example, the curious suit of Hermias vs. the Choachytæ in Peyron's collection, where the evidence goes back more than eighty years, and the verdict is rendered on principles which would have been accepted in an English court of law. Such favorable opinions are most strikingly confirmed by the contents of this present volume.

It happens to contain in great fulness the records kept by a certain Menches, a Government scribe of the village of Kerkeosiris, from 120 to 111 B. C. These present royal decrees of great importance, official correspondence, and a complete survey of the village land according to its taxable classes and subdivisions. The result is a miniature exhibition of the minute and elaborate methods of Ptolemaic administration; the result is also a vindication, in a general way, of the substantial justice of the policy of Euergetes II. The revolt which Justin swelled to a revolution, driving the King into exile, dwindles here to an *ἀναξία*, or disturbance, which was quelled within a year in the Fayûm, and which probably never even alienated Alexandria. The son of Philometor, who was picturesquely assassinated at the wedding feast, according to the latest evidences died, in all probability, before his father and before the accession of Euergetes. But indeed the whole series of decrees which are contained in Papyrus No. 5, dated 118 B. C., and issued in the name of Euergetes and the two Cleopatras, the "sister" and the "wife," are chiefly remarkable for the enlightened equity of their provisions to secure the person and property of the tax-payer. The heaviest penalties are directed against officials who attempt to defraud or oppress the taxpayer, by using false measures or imposing compulsory labor, by imprisoning or enslaving debtors, or confiscating the tools and implements of their labor. That the officials were often corrupt and had strong temptations to prey upon their subordinates, leaks out in several of the documents. Menches is obliged himself to pay a fixed annual rate, apparently a *douceur*, for the privilege of retaining his office; and his palm in turn is greased regularly by a certain Dorion, to whom a receipt is given for mysterious and unmentioned services. This Orientalism of method (which is, after all, Occidental enough to be understood from New York to San Francisco) doubtless violated more or less the best-laid administrative schemes; and certainly the general spirit of the regulations for suits between Greeks and Egyptians is fair and statesman-like. One of these expressly requires Greeks who have made contracts written in Egyptian to refer disputes to native tribunals, and forbids the chrematistæ to drag suits between natives into their own Greek courts. The revenues of the Egyptian priests and shrines are also protected, and the general aim of this legislation is clearly the equalization of the nationalities before the law and the minimizing of Greek overreaching and encroachments. This, indeed, may account for the bias and misrepresentations of the Greek historians.

The collection of the royal revenues in-

involved a system of minute supervision, a great multiplication of officials, and a pervasive bureaucracy. Some vivid glimpses of the operation of this machinery are shown in a letter from a tax-farmer (B.C. 111). He wishes to retain his privilege, but is outbid by a rival; he has obtained a view of his competitor's offer by bribing the notary. "To avoid a storm at the audit," he proposes to abstract this memorandum and make away with it, by the aid of a further bribe. All this has a very modern sound; and the counterpart may be found in a long message of the same date from the King's "cousin," the *dicætes*, to a delinquent named Hermias. He is sharply reminded that he has already failed to give satisfaction, and has employed corrupt and worthless subordinates; he is warned for the last time to mend his ways, and to send a list of persons "from the army and from his neighborhood, of conspicuous honesty and steadiness," who are to take charge of the inspection of crops and the collection of taxes.

It is quite impossible to give any summary of the lengthy documents which make up the chief wealth of this volume and furnish a tolerably complete view of the accounts and records of a bureau of taxation about B. C. 118. They include a land survey of the village of Kerkeosiris, lists of the owners and cultivators, the quality and classification of the land, the kinds of crops, the rents and the nature of tenure. The documents raise some new problems as to the meaning of technical terms, and solve satisfactorily some old ones. We must admire the dexterity and science with which Mr. Smyly follows the calculations of the scribe, detects and accounts for his inaccuracies, and extracts luminous general results. From the mass of intricate details a few salient and significant facts emerge. Out of the whole area within the village boundaries—about 2,400 acres—more than half is crown land, yielding a rental, in many cases, of more than ten bushels of wheat per acre. Nearly one-third is cleruchic, that is to say, assigned in nearly equal portions to Greek and to native soldiery. This equal apportionment points once more to the policy of Euergetes II. of conciliating the Egyptian populace and enlarging their privileges. The proportion of "sacred land" is more than three times the extent of the small area covered by the village proper; but it is a significant fact that this single petty village contained no less than fifteen shrines, or temples, of Egyptian and other divinities. There was apparently no private land whatever in this district. The ordinary method of calculating the area of lots, as Mr. Smyly points out, was such as regularly to overestimate the contents and to give a slight advantage to the Government.

The greatest surprise, perhaps, which has been extracted from these relics is the discovery that the numismatists have been completely astray with regard to the ratio of silver and copper in the late Ptolemaic period. Copper money was used very extensively, and the generally accepted theory has been that the normal ratio between a silver and a copper drachma was 120 to 1. This opinion was held by Mr. R. S. Poole, and has been maintained by Brugsch and by Révillout. The view of the latter scholars was based on the interpretation

of Demotic formulae, guided by a preconception in favor of the ordinarily accepted ratio of 120:1. Their conclusions were traversed by Grenfell in his discussion of the Revenue laws; and his doubts find complete confirmation in the evidence of the Tebtunis collection. Here we have a number of different documents and accounts which exhibit examples of conversion of silver into copper drachmæ; in more than a score of instances the ratio of silver to copper is distinctly stated, and these ratios range from 1:375 to 1:500. Curiously enough, in the same set of accounts the range is from 450 to 500. The documents cover the latter part of the second century and the beginning of the first century B. C. The evidence of the Demotic formulae was obscure and dubious; as to the evidence of the Greek there is not a shadow of doubt. The editors, therefore, draw certain inferences which seem to be warranted by the facts and by common sense. They conclude that the copper drachma never weighed the same as the silver drachma; that the copper drachma was in fact an ideal or imaginary unit, too small for coinage and circulation—a situation which finds a parallel in the copper coinage of the Byzantine Emperors. The smallest coin in circulation may have been a five-drachma piece. They conclude, further, that the copper coins in actual use, such as the 80 and 40-drachma piece of Cleopatra VII., did bear a definite and fairly constant ratio in weight to the weight of the silver coins; and this ratio hovers in the neighborhood of 30 to 1.

Another extremely interesting and valuable discovery is the papyrus containing a marriage contract practically complete, dated 92 B. C. The only Ptolemaic example hitherto known belonged to the second century B. C., and contained lacunæ which the present document satisfactorily supplies. In this contract, the husband acknowledges the receipt of a dowry from the bride's mother, and binds himself to remain faithful to his wife, to marry no other while she lives, to keep no separate establishment, to maintain her as well as his means permit, and to abstain from ill-treating her or from alienating her property. If he violates any of these engagements, he is to repay the dowry forthwith on demand. The wife, Apollonia, on her part, is to obey her husband, to remain at home except by his permission, to be faithful and "not to dishonor their common household." If of her own will she decides to separate from her husband, he must repay the dowry within ten days from the date of a demand for its restoration. This curious equality of rights and these stringent stipulations for marital fidelity are not found in marriage contracts from the Fayûm for the Roman period, though they are faintly echoed in the Oxyrhynchus papyri.

The few literary fragments transmitted to us by these crocodiles are not important, but are certainly interesting. One dithyrambic picture of a woodland scene haunted by swarms of bees and by singing birds whose voices echo from dells and mountains, belongs to a somewhat novel *genre* of lyric verse, and savors of Alexandrian taste and decadence. It may be a picture drawn from a genuine love of nature; but it is expressed in a highly artificial diction, overloaded with epithets and compound ad-

jectives. The besetting sin of the dithyramb is here carried out to frigidty. In the matter of palæography the Tebtunis collection does not offer the remarkable range of the Amherst documents, with their sweep of a thousand years, from the third century B. C. to the seventh A. D.; but they compensate for this by supplying many contracts or accounts from 100 to 50 B. C., a period that has hitherto been sparsely represented.

This most useful volume, which illustrates anew the vitality of Greek studies, appears as the first of the University of California Publications in Græco-Roman Archaeology. The funds for excavation and publication were furnished by Mrs. Hearst. The University is to be congratulated on its good fortune, and on the privilege of offering to the public the rich fruits of researches which will throw a new and permanent light on many phases of Ptolemaic history and antiquities.

SIR GEORGE GROVE.

The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove.
By Charles L. Graves. Macmillan Co.

Simultaneously with this biography of Sir George Grove appears the announcement that his *opus magnum*, the 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians,' is to be revised and brought up to date by Mr. Fuller Maitland. Grove once wrote to Sir Hubert Parry: "If, with my patience and love of my subject, I were only a musician! That's rather a confession, but I don't mind making it to you." He was no pianoforte player, but relied on his friend Franklin Taylor; while in other branches he had constant recourse to Manns, Dannreuther, Barry, Wood, and other professionals. When, upon the death of Dr. Hueffer, a friend of his (who was not a musician) wanted to apply for the position of musical critic of the *Times*, Grove urged him not to do so, adding: "I know that nothing could induce me to take such a post. If I had a new symphony or quartette to report upon I should be all abroad, and then should have to refer to others more qualified in that respect, though perhaps beneath me in taste and literary ability." Dr. Walford Davies wrote that "Sir George taught one to think of him as preëminently an *amateur*"; and, regarding his analysis of Beethoven's nine symphonies, Grove wrote in his notebook: "N. B. Mention in my Beethoven strongly in the Preface that it is not a book for musicians."

Notwithstanding these facts, and the bias which led Grove, for example, to give such a disproportionate amount of space to Handel, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn, as compared with Bach, Chopin, and Liszt, it may be said that the Macmillans could not easily have selected a man better qualified than he was for the making of a musical dictionary. For six years previous to undertaking this task he had been editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*, and he had had further experience in writing and planning and dealing with contributors during the seven years that he was one of the principal collaborators on Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible.' He had achieved a reputation for extraordinary conscientiousness and capacity for labor and research, as well as a disposition to get facts at first hand wherever possible. He knew, too,

who were the best writers on special musical subjects and composers, and usually secured their services. Thus it came to pass that the 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians,' though abounding in errors of commission and omission, is, nevertheless, even in its present condition, more valuable than the similar works published in other countries, Germany not excepted. Grove's own contributions, including Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schubert, are masterpieces, and it is to be forever regretted that he never found time in his busy life to carry out his plan of expanding these into separate biographies. This is true especially of his Schubert. That composer was the special idol of a habitual hero worshipper—his "existence," as he used to say; and Grove not only did a great deal to make him better known and more widely loved in England, but even helped to exhume, in Vienna, some of the buried treasures of that incomparable genius.

Because of his insufficient technical equipment, some of the professional musicians of England were inclined to sneer at Grove in his capacity of editor and commentator. Hans Richter more justly declared his conviction that the services rendered by him in his picturesque and genial analyses of the symphonies of the great masters were of incalculable value in educating the public. The very absence of technical details was one of the great merits of the programme notes, always signed with a simple G, which he provided for two generations of concert-goers. He had been one of those most interested and active in establishing the concerts at the Crystal Palace, which was opened in 1854; and for upwards of forty seasons he contributed his notes on the music to be performed. "I wrote about the symphonies and concertos," he explained, "because I wished to try to make them clear to myself, and to discover the secret of the things that charmed me so; and then from that sprang a wish to make other amateurs see it in the same way." As Mr. Graves remarks: "There have been better analysts, anatomists, and dissectors of the organism and structure of the classical masterpieces; there has never been so suggestive and stimulating a commentator upon their beauties."

Grove was an indefatigable letter-writer. He used to rise at six, or even earlier, make himself a cup of tea (like Gladstone, he drank tea at all hours with impunity), and write non-obligatory letters for a couple of hours before breakfast. Many of these letters are charming. He summed up his travel experiences picturesquely and tersely. Norway impressed him as it has impressed others: "The country is more like Scotland than Switzerland, though all on a larger scale. It has not got the Eternal Snow, nor the frequent contrasts of Switzerland, nor the indefinable charm which will always make Switzerland the dearest country to me. The people are Scotch, with more mildness and innocence, and less *packy* than the Scotch. . . . Norway doesn't do after Switzerland." Vienna aroused his enthusiasm: "This is a wonderful place, far finer and more interesting and beautiful than Paris. I like it much better." To be sure, here had been the dwelling-place of his beloved Beethoven and Schubert, and here still lived his friend Brahms. Of all the letters in this

volume, the most interesting is that addressed to Miss Olga von Glehn (pp. 143-46), in which he describes his adventures (with Arthur Sullivan) in quest of buried Schubert treasures, which resulted, among other things, in the discovery, in a dust-covered box, of the part books of the whole of the "Rosamunde" music, tied up after the second performance in 1823, and probably never disturbed till the visit of the Englishmen in 1867. Much time was also spent on subsequent visits to Vienna in searching for traces of the lost "Gastein" (or real ninth) symphony of Schubert. Grove was so convinced that such a work had been written that he always, on the Crystal Palace programmes, billed the work now known as the ninth as the tenth. Once, when he met a man in Vienna who had actually known Schubert, he was simply frantic with delight. "Of course, this sets all our fireworks off; we go up into the air at once, and burst and explode with enormous reports."

It is from the point of view of the contagiousness of enthusiasm that Grove's services to the cause of music must be chiefly regarded. He did a vast deal to stimulate an English interest in good music—chiefly, however, in the music of the past. In contemporary productions he took little interest. Yet he made allowance for the adage that times change and we change with them. He had heard Costa exclaim: "Beethoven has no melody." He himself had had to confess, on hearing the ninth symphony for the first time, that he "could make very little of it." He remembered Mr. Bicknell's protest against putting the "vile overture" to Wagner's "Tannhäuser" on the Crystal Palace programmes, and the admission of the same man, a year later, that he liked that piece about as well as anything else. Towards Wagner, Grove's feelings were mixed and vacillating. He had the wisdom to choose the best man he could have found (Mr. Dannreuther) for the article on Wagner in his Dictionary. He found the London Wagner concerts, in the composer's presence, in 1877, "delightful"; and years later he bought Bayreuth tickets for a student at the Royal College of Music (of which he was the Director from 1882 to 1893). "Tristan" did not appeal to him musically, and morally he objected to it violently, being, like so many others, under the ludicrous delusion that "the story is one of wicked passion." "Die Meistersinger" he liked. "Parsifal" disappointed him at the first hearing; "but this," he wrote to Dr. Wood, "I have not said to any one but you, and don't wish it repeated, because I should probably have said much the same after first hearing the Ninth Symphony."

Grove met Liszt in Rome, and the great pianist played for him by request, which he seldom did. No opinion of Liszt's music is expressed, but Grove refers to his playing as "so calm, clear, correct, refined—so entirely unlike the style of the so-called 'Liszt School.'" Tchaikovsky, he opined, "goes in far too much for emotion," and Richard Strauss's "Zarathustra" seemed to him an "absurd farrago." Schumann (who died in 1856) was really the last of the great masters (unless we count Brahms as one) who elicited his full sympathies; and Schumann needed his services a generation ago. The leading critics "were decidedly hostile to him, and it took all the missionary enthusiasm of Manns and Grove and a few

others to make headway against the coalition of Philistines and prejudiced experts," who looked upon him as "a dreary and most unmelodious mystic." Mr. Chorley of the *Athenaeum*, we are informed, made it a point to the end of his life to walk out of the concert room at the beginning of the second movement of Schumann's quintet, to mark his high disapproval of a certain chord in the eighth bar!

Mr. Graves's book partakes, as he is himself aware, somewhat of the nature of patchwork, and it is not free from errors, among which a reference to John Quincy Adams (meaning Charles Francis Adams) as former Minister to St. James's is conspicuous. But there is much interesting reading matter, and the author has adopted the autobiographic method as far as possible, letting Grove speak for himself in letters and otherwise. Nor is it only to music lovers that the volume appeals. Grove was a man of remarkable versatility, well informed in regard to such diverse subjects as engineering, Biblical antiquities, geography, ancient and modern (a primer of geography in the Macmillan series is among his works), Chinese porcelain (on which he intended to write a book), and so on. He was also a great reader of books and very fond of poetry, his favorites being Matthew Arnold, Clough, Tennyson, and Wordsworth. Tennyson, a friend of his informs us, "was far more to him than Shakspeare." He was on terms of intimacy with him and exchanged letters, as he did with Browning. He was almost as fond of parallels as Plutarch, and in one of his letters he likens Beethoven to Tennyson "in his fondness for friends and dislike of strangers, and his constant mention of the 'honorar' for his pieces." On one of his visits to the poet, he asked him to explain the difference between a cowslip and an oxlip in the lines

"As cowslip unto oxlip is,
So seems she to the boy."

Tennyson answered this by picking up one of each in the copse behind the house, and showing his visitor how the one stood erect and the other drooped its head.

Shelley also interested Grove greatly, and at one time he intended to write a life of him; but Dean Milman, who had known Shelley both at Eton and at Oxford, wrote to him, "In the strictest confidence," and effectually dissuaded him from undertaking a task which, in Milman's opinion, "might never be carried out." We also catch glimpses of George Eliot, whom Grove berates in an article for her "false air of learning" in musical and other matters, and of G. H. Lewes, of whom he gives a ludicrous account at a rehearsal of the first Brahms symphony, "ostentatiously beating time all wrong." Grove had a strong sense of humor. His notebooks were filled with a curious jumble of jottings for his articles, ghost stories, and jokes, three of which are worth citing. An old soldier, reduced to beggary, carried a placard with the inscription: "Actions, 7; wounds, 9; children, 8; total, 24." A self-sacrificing cat once remained on the platform of St. James's Hall all the time Sarasate was playing the Mendelssohn violin concerto, "so as to oblige him with a string in case he broke one." At a concert in St. Louis, Hans von Bülow was preceded by a soprano who screamed dreadfully. When the witty pianist subsequently sat down at the piano,

he preluded his piece with the recitative from Beethoven's Choral Symphony, "O Friends, Not These Tones."

The Influence of Emerson. By Edwin D. Mead. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1903.

Mr. Mead's book is probably a better one for not having been written with immediate reference to the Emerson centennial. Its several parts have grown like the temples of Emerson's "Problem," "as grows the grass"; they have been tested, as Emerson's essays were tested, by public delivery in many places. They are sincere expressions of a hearty and intelligent admiration for Emerson, viewed first in his philosophical aspect, and afterward in connection and comparison with Theodore Parker and Carlyle. The three chapters were written at different times from different inspirations. The title under which they are brought together is not particularly appropriate, and is rather a disappointing one. Except in a manner strictly personal to Mr. Mead, it does not describe the book, which bears on every page the mark of Emerson's influence on him, and we know that here there was nothing singular—that Mr. Mead was one of many to whom Emerson brought liberation and encouragement and peace. In this indexical fashion Mr. Mead's title has, perhaps, sufficient justification, but we fear that it was chosen in despair of finding one actually descriptive of the book's disparate contents, through which the personality of Emerson runs like a golden thread.

Those who deny to Emerson a genius or talent for philosophy have a difference to settle with Mr. Mead, who maintains a contrary opinion in his first chapter, "The Philosophy of Emerson." He contends, and reasonably, that Emerson's indifference to metaphysics was less absolute than Emerson himself imagined it to be. He finds the best expression of Emerson's philosophy in the "Nature" of 1836, making less use than he might have done of his "Natural History of Intellect," where the idealism of Emerson is more distinctly qualified than in the earlier writing. Mr. Mead's method is to test the philosophy of Emerson by its application to the distinctive tendencies and problems of his time, and especially to the doctrine of Evolution. He does not exaggerate the evolutionary strain in Emerson's thought, but he does exaggerate his anticipation of Darwin when he says that "Darwin's truth lies in Emerson's philosophy as a natural and essential moment of it," for "Darwin's truth" was "the origin of species by means of natural selection" and not merely evolution, of which there was plenty in the air before he came. Mr. Mead resents John Morley's dictum, "It is a misconception to pretend that Emerson was a precursor of the Darwinian theory," but he makes no quotations that break the force of Mr. Morley's declaration, nor do we believe that any can be made. A considerable part of the first chapter is devoted to the exoneration of Emerson from the charge of ethical fatalism; and though some hard sayings block Mr. Mead's way, he comes safely to his goal. Even Emerson's essay on "Fate" is, in its final outcome, an affirmation that man is fated to be free.

Mr. Mead's second chapter, "Emerson and

Theodore Parker," is written with a fine glow of enthusiasm for both subjects of his discrimination, but especially for Parker. This is a welcome aspect, because it has become a habit with many persons to comfort themselves for their obligation to admire Emerson by depreciation of Parker. Moreover, it is obvious that Parker is more inexpugnable than Emerson to the reaction that is upon us: he cannot be construed by the most ingenious in terms that write down the anti-slavery conflict as a great mistake, and slavery (in Mr. Woodrow Wilson's phrase) as "not so bad as it was painted." Mr. Mead brings out with striking force and in a dramatic manner the mutual relations of Emerson and Parker, quoting their words of generous mutual appreciation. Exception will no doubt be taken in certain quarters to the judgment that "there was no so conspicuous case of persecution in the century as that of Theodore Parker"; some contending that his path was "roses, roses all the way," and some that it was he who persecuted the defenders of the Unitarian faith. We cannot ourselves agree with Mr. Mead that Parker "was a man who had no delight in controversy." It is certainly indicative of a remarkable change in Unitarian opinion that this generous eulogy of Parker, this frank dissent from his conservative critics and opponents, should be published by the American Unitarian Association. It is an interesting judgment that Emerson and Parker have helped us more than any others to see the transcendent preeminence of Jesus and the Bible among books and men, "because recognizing this preeminence on the ground of freedom and pure reason."

The "Emerson and Carlyle" chapter is the most elaborate in the book, taking up nearly half of its three hundred pages. It is a piece of admirable discrimination. The agreement and difference of the two men, their likeness and unlikeness, are set forth in a vivid manner. So are the details of their meetings and partings, and their mutual services, whether in the way of commendation or reproof. There was more friction than Mr. Mead imagines in their intercourse and less absolute continuity. At one time, when Carlyle's temper was particularly bad, Emerson said to the writer of this article, "I have let silence answer him so far, and shall until he has a better mind." The relations of the two men to Goethe are drawn out in an interesting manner. Emerson is credited with less discipleship than Carlyle, but certainly Emerson took over more from Goethe than the perfervid Scot, or was naturally more akin to him. To either, Goethe's moral looseness must have been a gross offence. We are told of Emerson's reading of Goethe's "Farbenlehre," and are not told that he ever extricated himself from the snare of its attractive speciousness. If there is a defect in Mr. Mead's criticism it is that his royal Emerson can do no wrong. In every awkwardness of his verse he finds "a wondrous strength and a wondrous fitness," and says we shrink from making any change. But surely some of us have imagined that in a good many places we could easily improve the form without any loss of meaning whatsoever.

Principles of Home Decoration. With Practical Examples. By Candace Wheeler.

Doubleday, Page & Co. 1903. Pp. x., 227.

In this little book there are full-page illustrations, fifteen in all, some of which represent scenes in American houses and some give only details of decoration or pieces of furniture. They are not numerous enough to form a very important part of the book. They hardly exemplify the text, and serve rather to adorn the volume than to aid in the exposition of "principles."

The text is divided into thirteen chapters, the character of which can be judged by the sub-titles. Thus, Chapter IV. is devoted to color in houses—as a science—as an influence—and occupies seven pages, while Chapter VII. takes up color again and deals with it in reference to light and with regard to its gradation. In like manner, walls, ceilings, and floors are treated all together in Chapter VIII., and then, separately, in Chapters X., XI., and XII. In all these chapters it is noticeable that very great attention is given to the question of color treatment of walls and ceilings; in short, of the rooms themselves regarded as units. There can be no question that the right note is struck when the relative importance of color is insisted on here. Color is indeed the one serious question in the beautifying of our house interiors. It is rare that anything serious can be done with form. The walls must be flat and the ceilings smoothly plastered; anything massive in the way of boldly treated woodwork, and still more anything decided in the way of facings of stone or marble, is out of the question in nearly every instance. The mantelpiece alone is thought fit to receive a more decided treatment, and well do we all know the unfortunate effect of the projecting, massive-looking, dark-colored, showy mantelpiece in a room which is otherwise so flat and smooth, so thin and light in its apparent structure. The essence of decoration must be in the pleasant combinations of well-toned colors, lighted up occasionally with stronger passages of those hues which approach the primary colors in brilliancy. And it is to be observed that in the filling of the room with portable objects, whether in the way of necessary furniture, with its coverings of textile fabrics or leather, or in the way of works of art, hung upon walls or set upon shelves, colors may be so combined as to harmonize perfectly with the hues given to wall and ceiling. In this chief merit, then, the book is to be praised without reserve. Throughout the whole treatise, for it may be called so, there is constant insistence upon the need—the primary need—of the utmost care in the treatment of the brown and green, yellow and white, or the harmony of rosy grays. In like manner the surface is discussed with a view to its color effect upon the whole room; and the question of tapestry, wallpaper, oil painting, and the other ways of disguising a wall surface is constantly kept in mind.

The opening sentence of Chapter I. states that probably no art has so few masters as that of decoration; and a further statement shows that by a "master" is meant some one of authority, "a leader whose very name establishes law." The author seems to think that William Morris was for many years such a leader in England; but it is, of course, an error to suppose that the strong mediæval proclivities of Morris and

the resulting character of picturesque fancy imparted to his designs and those of his followers were ever of general acceptance in Great Britain. It is apt to be forgotten that the loud, the reiterated, the unmeasured praise given to Morris as a designer, and to the qualities of his decorative school, is the utterance of his special admirers—of those Englishmen who retain so much of the feeling of the middle century, 1840 to 1870, that they are properly to be described as advocates rather than critics. Unquestionably that quasi-mediæval feeling is much stronger in England than anywhere else in the world; but it would be a mistake to assume that it is prevalent among the masters of design of our own time. All of which is only another way of saying that there is no such thing as a leader whose lead will be acknowledged by the majority of designers. A style prevails, but the influence of a critic or of an artist whose works serve as exemplary, has not prevailed very generally at any time or in any community since the people of the United States began to talk about the fine and decorative arts.

The book before us does not err in preaching the doctrine of authority; it is, on the other hand, of a good general tone, suggestive rather than positive, and therefore more truly critical. The claim for supreme excellence in domestic decoration for the United States is made. It is preposterous, of course, but in the present mood of the American people a book will hardly be read unless it begins with this wretched flattery of our own place and time; and, moreover, the childish optimism of the day influences the intelligence of even the most sagacious writers, and they find themselves utterly unable to "see things as they are." It is true, however, that there is a general feeling for gentle harmonies of color among the Americans who have concerned themselves with house decoration during the last quarter century. No one among us can combine brilliant colors or produce strong chromatic effects of any sort. No one among us can design patterns—firmly drawn scrolls and well composed flower work, leaf work, or animal form, whether more or less conventional. No one among us dares trust himself among decided contrasts and strong lights and shades. But in the quasi-Japanese taste of the most delicate combinations—of buff with white, of warmer and cooler gray, of gold with cream color, and the like—very good things have been done, and Mrs. Wheeler has every right to praise her own age and her own people thus far. So small a book as this may be forgiven if it does not go much farther afield or grapple with the whole vast subject. There are, after all, not more than forty thousand words in the book before us.

In the Andamans and Nicobars: The Narrative of a Cruise in the Schooner Terrapin, with Notices of the Islands, their Fauna, Ethnology, etc. By C. Boden Kloss. With maps and illustrations. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi, 373.

"A cloudless sky and a blazing sun; a long stretch of yellow beach lapped by a calm sea of brilliant green above the reef, verging into an intense sapphire in the distance. Inland, swelling hills clothed in densest jungle—the topmost ridge capped

by a delicate tracery of foliage that stands out clear-cut in the pure atmosphere." The main object of the cruise described in this volume, amid scenes of which this picture is characteristic, was to secure specimens of the fauna of the two archipelagoes lying off the coast of Burmah. Though the collectors were but two in number, Dr. W. L. Abbott and the author, they succeeded in obtaining sixteen new varieties of small mammals and ten hitherto undescribed species of birds. These, together with many ethnological objects, are now in the National Museum at Washington. The largest part of these collections were made upon the southernmost group, the Nicobars, which have been rarely visited by Europeans and are still to a great extent unexplored. The first half of the volume is a simple narrative of each day's work during the three months' cruise. It is singularly free from exciting incidents or adventures. Unlike most tropic lands, the Nicobars, at least, have neither beasts of prey, noxious reptiles, nor hostile savages. A small tribe—the Shom Pen—living in the interior of the southern island, is reputed to be persistently hostile to the other natives. But, with the exception of a few families who held friendly intercourse with the coast villages, none of these were encountered. The second half is devoted to a general description of the islands, their fauna and flora, their inhabitants, and a sketch of their recent history. Much of this is naturally taken from the writings of others, but much is the record of the explorers' own observations. The various species of birds and animals are so small as to be of little interest save to the collector; with exception of the megapode, a bird about the size of a partidge, which constructs a peculiar "nest-mound." One of these mounds "was between 7 and 8 feet high, and rather more than 100 feet in circumference, and had a large coco palm growing through the centre. It would certainly be the work of a number of birds, and must have taken many years to build."

The native as described in these pages is singularly uninteresting and characterless. We are inclined, however, to ascribe this to the fact that the travellers never came to know him familiarly. If, instead of spending their nights on the schooner, they had stayed in the native houses, the Nicobarese might have become as individual and attractive as Dr. W. H. Furness found the head-hunters of Borneo after he had lived among them and won their confidence. They are by no means pure savages. Their huts, with conical roofs thatched with palm leaves, the apex crowned by a high finial, are most pleasing in appearance. "In the charms and talismans connected with their superstitious cult they betray a certain artistic ability, and their pictures, screens, and figures of birds, men, and animals, show not only good powers of observation, but a capacity and skill of no mean order, in interpreting and reproducing whatever may present itself to them." They are expert basket makers, and on one island the women enjoy a monopoly of a pottery industry.

In social customs, religious rites, and morality the inhabitants of the various islands differ. Of the Andamanese it is stated that, "once married, conjugal fidelity until death is the rule, and bigamy, polygamy, and divorce are unknown." Although this

is apparently not true of the other islanders, yet among the Nicobarese

"the position of women is, and always has been, in no way inferior to that of the other sex. They take their full share in the formation of public opinion, discuss publicly with the men matters of general interest to the village, and their opinions receive due attention before a decision is arrived at. In fact, they are consulted on every matter, and the henpecked husband is of no extraordinary rarity in the Nicobars. In Kar Nicobar, where the villages are divided into groups of several houses, a woman occasionally succeeds her late husband as sub-chief, on account of the knowledge she may possess of the regulations in vogue, the property and customs of her neighbors."

The matriarchal system prevails with them; that is, when a man marries "he becomes a member of his wife's family, leaving the house of his own parents, or even his village, if the woman dwell elsewhere." Honest, truthful, and industrious, they deserve a better fate than the increasing intercourse with other peoples is bringing upon them—deterioration and ultimate extinction, unless rescued by the missionary and the teacher. An illustration of one of the worst of the evils of this contact with the civilized world is furnished, unconsciously it would seem, by Mr. Boden Kloss. Several times liquor was given to their visitors, notwithstanding its strict prohibition by the British authorities, and its effects are described in a would-be humorous manner. After a carousal at a village over rum which they had provided, and of which all—men, women, and children—apparently, partook, the headman "received the finishing touch from the rum, and, before we left, embraced Abbott with fervent gratitude: 'You good man, I love you; you make us all nice and drunk. Oh, I feel so nice!'" (p. 88). In the light of this incident it is not surprising to learn that a catechist on a neighboring island, after five years' work, had "not succeeded in converting any of his adult neighbors to Christianity."

An interesting account is given of Port Blair, the English convict settlement on one of the Andamans, and of the methods employed to educate and elevate the 12,000 prisoners. A reasonable degree of success is reached, as is shown by the fact that the savings bank, "the largest local bank of the kind in India," has now over 2,300 open convict accounts, and that scores of reformed men are sent back to India every year. Dampier's entertaining narrative of his adventures on Great Nicobar in 1688 is given in full, and there is a detailed description of some of the customs of the islanders, including feasts, dances, burial rites, and wizardry. The most important contributions to science are to be found in the chapter on the fauna of the islands, and in the appendices, devoted to measurements of some of the natives, the principal flora, census tables, and trade articles and presents most in demand. Of these last, none have such value as plated spoons, forks, and soup-ladles, "in which the natives invest nearly all they obtain by the sale of their coconuts." They are suspended on a framework in the centre of the floor of their dwellings, "covered with alternate stripes of red and white cotton, so that it seemed to be made of barber's poles." They are all destroyed at the death of their owner. More than a hundred reproductions of admirable photographs, mostly of the

natives and their homes, lend not only an attractiveness, but an especial value to this work.

The Woman's Library. Volume I.—Education and Professions. Volume II.—Needlework. Edited by E. M. M. McKenna. E. P. Dutton & Co.

"The Woman's Library" is not a promising title for a series. A library is the last thing that should mark distinctions of sex. Indeed, it must always surprise the observer that the very women who are for identifying their interests with the interests of men should propagate "woman's buildings" and hammer on the phrase "woman's work." This century has almost reached the point of envisaging women as human beings, qualified or disqualified, like men, by their training or intelligence for the various branches of the world's work. It is the fault of the women if they persist in playing the amateur. Fortunately, this air of a successful experiment is more and more confined to the written records of the feminine advance. The woman who works is less apt to remind you how completely she has outclassed her grandmother. The woman who really advances her cause is she who, without advertising her feminine intonation, offers herself for special work on the non-sexual grounds of training and expert knowledge. Meanwhile, until she is in the majority, we have the "Woman's Library."

The first volume is decidedly mixed in its aims. At one moment you would take it for a practical guide to women about to enter certain professions; the next, you are landed in a purely æsthetic essay on "The Artistic Faculty." The first article, a review of the "Higher Education" by J. E. Hogarth, covers ground so well trodden that not a single new blade of fact can be made to grow in it. So it seems to the American mind. But these articles are written by and for Englishwomen, of whom very few go to college; moreover, it may not be time wasted to remind any English reader that education is not merely part of the routine of life, chiefly recorded in one's checkbook, but, like sport and commerce, actually has its problems. If Socrates could buttonhole the British parent in Piccadilly and demand his definition of a public school and why he sent his son to Eton, what fresh fields would flatter his sententious energies! He would have no such easy time with an American father, forearmed with several complete sets of theories and counter-queries.

Miss Hogarth's description of the sex-isolation and "perpetual girlhood" of the college-trained woman who in England becomes a schoolteacher, should suffice to warn off the boldest. It appears that even a college course does not quite obliterate the inherited English prejudice against "bluestockings." For here is Miss Hogarth suggesting that the college plays the part of the Catholic convent in relieving the domestic circle of its misfits. The convent was a more drastic remedy, but even four years of relief are better than nothing—"by the end of which time you will very likely find that they have solved the problem themselves, either by finding friends (possibly even a husband) more to their liking, or by deciding to enter a profession" (p. 41). A charming argument *ad parentes*, but not, we think, quite the right

line for the promoters of a "Woman's Library." The article is well written, and in that respect contrasts with most of the others.

In her essay on the "Education of the Artistic Faculty," Mrs. Jopling devotes a mind not narrowed by education in the ordinary sense to the discussion of the origin of art, the advisability of learning to draw, and kindred topics. Beyond giving the Royal Academy regulations—which, by the way, still exclude women from the study of the nude—she gives very little practical information, but prefers to moralize to the tune of 170 pages, advising women to "drink deeply of the Perian [sic] well," to remember that "Orare est Orare [sic]," "a motto to which every artist ought to know by heart"; to send Christmas cards to hospitals. The artist should, above all, know how to boil an egg, while Longfellow's "Psalm of Life" may be taken as a safe guide for conduct. "Great, indeed, is Truth, and her power continues for ever," cries Mrs. Jopling. Her paper ends with a misquotation of Milton.

Mrs. Kendal's essay on "Theatrical Life" is short and much to the point. Its only aim is to deter the ambitious, and it begins and ends with advice to the amateur not to abandon her advantages for the uncertainties, or rather certain disadvantages, of the professional life. Mrs. Kendal, at any rate, sticks to her last; her statement that in London alone there are three thousand actresses always out of work half the year at least—the inevitable result of overcrowding—should for the aspiring amateur be worth a good many papers on "Art and the Mission of the Stage." "Not," says Mrs. Kendal of amateurs, "that I deceive myself for one moment with thinking I shall restrain one."

The woman who thinks that "Journalism" (whatever she may mean by that) is her true vocation, will find herself quite as urgently dissuaded by Miss Billington's essay, in its way as strong a deterrent as Mr. Henry James's recent story, "The Papers." The short practical papers on "Sanitary and Factory Inspection for Women" are really the most useful in the volume, since from them a woman may gather the necessary information as to training and the sort of work she will have to do. It is interesting to note that in Ireland women have an equal vote with men on all issues except the Parliamentary franchise. Their privileges in England and Scotland are much more restricted. In Edinburgh, however, a woman is at present chairman of the School Board. The difficulty about the public work of women is that they will not or cannot organize—a defect that is bound to handicap them in nearly all their enterprises.

The second volume of the series (to be followed by four others) deals with embroidery, dressmaking, millinery, and knitting. Few people know that there are in England thirteen regular schools of millinery, having rigidly prescribed courses and examinations; in some cases even residence houses are provided. This is an encouraging sign in a country where the technical education of women is terribly neglected. The paper on "Millinery," by Miss Clare Hill, is meant for the guidance of the hard-working milliner—the girl who pays a three-guinea premium and gives her services in a workroom for two or three years. It

is admirably practical, but will this six-shilling volume ever reach the struggling milliner? The article on dressmaking should be useful to the amateur, at least while the present fashions hold.

These volumes are attractively got up, and rather expensive. There is no preface to indicate their aim, and no method can be detected in their appeal to women. They are partly a record, partly a hand-book, in the main poorly expressed; for whom they are intended is not always clear. The chief impression that they leave is of the terrible overcrowding of all the trades and professions that are open to Englishwomen. That is the aspect on which for her own field every writer insists. Do not go into the medical profession unless you have private means; teachers are a drug on the market; actresses in crowds are out of work; scores of applicants besiege every possible opening in journalism. It is a depressing picture, and we hope that a future volume will offer some solution. A really practical set of articles on Emigration is what is wanted. All the energies of Englishwomen who devote themselves to the advancement of their sex should, we are convinced, be directed into this channel. It is an astonishing thing, and not encouraging for their future, that women in England are content to remain a superfluity. It looks as though nothing short of an immense exodus of women of the middle and lower classes would save the situation; and of that we see little prospect.

Biblia Cabalistica, or the Cabalistic Bible.

By the Rev. Walter Begley. London: David Nutt. 1903.

The Cabala, whether as a huge mass of written and printed matter or as a part-colored system aiming to expound Biblical mysteries, has been to the general world something weird, dubious, undefined, and probably beyond bounds of human comprehension or profit. Yet many students, to our own time, have attacked it with hopeful zeal, though some of them must have found the text easier than the commentary. One of this "somewhat eccentric band of bibliophiles," the Rev. Walter Begley, author of a previous 'Biblia Anagrammatica,' now offers enlightenment as to the various numerical cabalas and the ways in which they have been applied to the Scriptures. The subject is even darker than one might suppose, for there are (in the large sense, and to put it mildly) two cabalas instead of one. The old one is "mainly Hebrew, and occasionally Greek," and was in full tide from B. C. 100 to A. D. 300. The other, with which Mr. Begley is chiefly concerned, and which he thinks scarcely one person in a hundred has heard of, is Latin, and exists in two forms of independent origins and different methods of counting; one arose in Germany about 1530 or later, the other in Italy, near Piacenza, in 1621. These have had variations, and all have been used by Christians and applied to both Testaments.

To the hardened cynic all this is what the Gospel was to the Greeks; but Mr. Begley approaches his topic in another temper. Like Jean Valjean, he has two wallets, severally enclosing faith and the scientific spirit. He writes chiefly "for lovers and collectors of literary curiosities," and plumes himself on the fact that his sources are very rare, and mostly "not in the

British Museum, or Bodleian, or any English library that I know of." On some points he keeps a mind as open as that of Mr. Balfour concerning protection. Believers in hidden meanings may at times have gone too far, he says; some of their instances are "not very convincing." Thus, of Faulhaber's record (1632) of the apocalyptic numbers found on a fish or on "the horns, hoofs, and back" of a stag, he observes: "These marvels have always been received with marked attention by the uneducated vulgar, which I suppose accounts for their recurrence." Yet in the narrative of the marriage at Cana he finds "a cryptic statement of an esoteric character," conveying some deep inner truth; and among the varying interpretations of Abraham's 318 circumcised servants, as indicating the 318 bishops of Nicæa, or the steward Eliezer (the letters of whose name by gematria add up 318), or Unica Crucis Figura, he prefers as "most likely" that of the Epistle of Barnabas, i. e., 10 and 18 stand for the first Greek letters of the name Jesus, while 300 stands for T, the figure of his cross. Here, apparently, the wallet of faith was drawn upon rather than that of science.

The craving for mysteries, for something outside the merely known and rational, lies deep enough in humanity to have withstood all assaults thus far. It is common to orthodox devotees and Christian Scientists. After denying all the Bible miracles, Abner Kneeland spent all he could raise in a search for pirate gold revealed to a child through a glass of Hudson River water. Other theologians besides Bishop Wordsworth believe in "the symbolical meaning of numbers in Holy Scripture." But what meaning? The labor spent in guessing at that might have carved innumerable vessels and palaces out of cherry-stones, and engraved many Declarations of Independence on discs an inch wide. And why not, if there be time to burn, no pressing duties, and no turn for practicality? As one of the modern cabalists said, he had spent time worse in his days of sin. To this temper it was of course that primitive Christians were initiates, "with mysterious knowledge carefully conveyed and concealed"; that agnosticism was an inevitable appurtenance to Christianity, if not an essential part of it; that Moses on the Mount had received a secret revelation to supplement the published one; and that evangelists and apostles meant something other and more important than what they wrote. If this were so, no labor could be wasted in delving for the hid treasure. And on a lower plane, it was, perhaps, not more unwise to search for latent meanings in the sacred writings than for the allegory in Shakspeare's sonnets, or for traces of Baconian authorship in the plays.

The theory was pretty enough, but the practice soon became confusion worse confounded. The Italians used a simple notation, counting the letters of the alphabet as 1 to 22; but the older or ordinary cabala advanced by tens from K to T, and thence by hundreds, valuing U as 200 and Z as 500. On these beginnings innovators might improve at will. Henning's 'Cabbalologia,' 1682, gives examples "in triangular, square, pentagonal, heptagonal, octagonal, enneagonal, and decagonal numbers." Add to this that four languages (and why not more?) were employed, the varying letters and words of Latin and German versions

apparently giving as good a clue to the divine intent as those of the originals, and the stalwart hopefulness of these explorers of infinite heights and depths looms out large. Judged by Mr. Begley's samples, the learning of the seventeenth century appears on a par with that of the thirteenth, and as profitably applied as in the pulpit inquiry into the botanic origin of the club wherewith Cain killed Abel. Here is one of the least abstruse, which would detect a prophetic reference in Hebrew times to a worthy and popular Lutheran hymnist who died in 1737: The first and second verses of the Ninety-sixth Psalm (*Singet*, 540, etc.), being valued by letters and words, count up 8,097. Then take this summary of titles: "Herr Benjamin Schmolke, Pastor Primarius und Inspector der Evangelischen Kirchen und Schulen zu Schweidnitz." Tot that up, and it comes out just 8,097! Now this is truly remarkable—if only as a specimen product of

"The miraculous, infinite mind of man,
With its countless capabilities."

Altersklassen und Männerbünde: Eine Darstellung der Grundformen der Gesellschaft. Von Heinrich Schurtz. Berlin: Reimer. 1902. ix.+458.

The author of this volume is well known from his other ethnological publications, and ranks as one of the ablest and most suggestive writers of the newer school. The book grew out of a study of the "bachelors' houses" and "men's houses" found in various parts of the globe, particularly in the Indo-Pacific area, and is a valuable addition to the small stock of scientific works dealing with the sexual-social phenomena of primitive humanity. The four sections into which it is divided have to do with the following topics: The primitive constituents of society; age classes; the men's house; clubs and secret societies. The brief linguistic appendix (pages 439-452) weakens rather than enforces the author's argument.

The general thesis maintained by Dr. Schurtz is that the existence of "bachelors' houses" and "men's houses" is due to the exercise by the male members of primitive society of a special "social" (as contrasted with sexual) tendency characteristic of that sex. The two sexes differ in their social endowments; woman being notably more inclined to sexual, man more to social ties. Sexual and parental instincts are the roots of the social unions and combinations most characteristically feminine. Woman is the central and inspiring element of family life and of all that for which it has stood, and for which it still stands. Her social impulses require the presence and the foil of the other sex. It is paradoxical, but true, that woman is less social than man. In her fellows of her own sex she sees rather possible rivals in love than companions and equals in social activity. Women meet much less commonly on terms of perfect equality than do men, and the former are notoriously less just to individuals of their own sex than is the case with the latter. This common-sense justice, which men exercise, is a *sine qua non* of the existence of male societies; its absence in so many women accounts for, in part at least, the fact that real societies, not mere imitations of those already formed by men, are rare among women. Man alone seems to create

on a large scale societies from which the other sex is excluded, and in the development of which males are the only human factors. By this means sex rivalry is practically eliminated from the great affairs of men. This is possibly why it is so difficult nowadays for woman to enter some spheres of social and political activity; here the man turns out to be the real conservative. The designation, *e. g.*, of the Senate of the United States or the English House of Commons as a club has more in it than comes to the surface at first. Not only these, but many lesser institutions also, are "clubs," composed of men meeting together on an equal footing, and not devices for making the most of the great society of men and women, which higher object they must sometimes serve. Needless to say, there are often antagonisms between the artificial or secondary social institutions of men and the natural, primary, or sexual societies of women, and of women and men. The "moral sense" engendered by the family instinct, and that which is the product of the "social" instinct of men only, naturally come into collision. The source of much of the ethical dualism of modern public and private life is to be found in the various expressions of this antagonism.

The discussion of the separation of primitive society into age classes brings out many interesting facts which have their analogues in the society of to-day. Many primitive peoples allow the unmarried youths and maidens a sort of "free love," but, with rude justice, make indulgence in it no bar to marriage on the part of either sex; usually, too, the youth marries the particular maiden who has been the subject of his pleasure. Here a marked difference from the procedure of civilized people exists, for with them such action on the part of the female sex removes them from the list of desirable or even possible candidates for matrimony, while men have been in no such measure incapacitated. The history of men's houses, men's clubs, etc., reveals many such discriminations against the "weaker" sex. Lynch law and cognate phenomena in America have light shed upon them in the study of the secret societies of men given us in this book, although the matter is far from being exhaustively treated. Certain traits of our educational institutions of to-day suggest comparison with the associations of youth and unmarried persons, and with the men's clubs and secret societies. The more or less noticeable antagonism between the family and the public school is a case in point, for, in some respects, the latter represents the idea embodied in primitive times in the institutions under consideration. The collision between the morale of the family and that of the college is even more clearly suggestive of the same anterior facts. To the famous saying, *Cherchez la femme*, born of the detective spirit, may be added another, *L'homme seul est là*, expressive of the facts of masculine activity as revealed by sociological research.

A glance into Dr. Schurtz's book will benefit not only the specialist in the field of ethnology, but also the general reader and the average man. A translation (condensed here and amplified there) into English would be a deserved compliment. Since this review was written the news has been

received of the regrettable death of Dr. Schurtz.

A History of Factory Legislation. By B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison. Westminster: P. S. King & Co. 1903.

It is now a century since Sir Robert Peel brought in a bill known as the "Health and Morals of Apprentices Act," and thus began a movement for regulating industry that has spread through the civilized world. Peel said afterwards that he had no difficulty in having his bill passed, and the abuses at which it was directed were so scandalous as to admit of no defence. For, in effect, the parish officers had been selling pauper children into slavery, and the misery of their condition had come to be so widely known as to arouse general indignation. Peel's act, therefore, was intended to improve the administration of the Poor Law, although it was so drawn as to apply to all apprentices employed in factories.

Steam power, the use of which did not fairly begin until the early part of the nineteenth century, but increased very rapidly then, caused great changes in the condition of labor. It is probable that these conditions, on the whole, improved; long hours and unsanitary surroundings prevailed before factories were started. But these factories created, as we say, a great demand for labor, and children became a source of revenue instead of a burden to their parents. Hence, their natural protectors became their oppressors, and the Government was obliged to intervene in behalf of the rights of children in general, whether pauper apprentices or not. Naturally enough, this latter intervention aroused violent opposition. Many parents were exasperated at being deprived of the wages earned by their children; many employers resented the supposed loss of profits gained through these feeble assistants. It was not until 1819 that the employment of children under nine years of age was prohibited, and the hours of work for those under sixteen limited to twelve. At first the law applied only to cotton factories, but it was gradually extended to other departments of the textile industry. The age limit was somewhat raised, and the hours further shortened, while the administration of the law was gradually perfected.

The greatest change, so far as principle was involved, came in 1847. The act passed in that year forbade the employment of women as well as children between 6 P. M. and 6 A. M., with the allowance for meal times; this meant a ten-hours workday. It meant this for all factory hands, for it was well understood that when the women and young persons stopped work, the adult males could not continue. The act met with little opposition on its final passage, owing to the fact that trade was so depressed that few factories were able to work more than seven or eight hours a day. Fortunately, the repeal of the corn laws came at precisely this juncture, and so greatly improved the circumstances of both capitalists and laborers as to make the shorter hours of labor immaterial so far as production was concerned. This factor is commonly ignored in reviewing the factory legislation of England, and the au-

thors of this history unfortunately follow the precedent.

It is still an open question whether, after all, men do not produce more in ten hours than in twelve, or in eight hours than in ten. Some of the disputants calculated that all the profit came in the last hour's work, the production during the previous hours only paying expenses. But as early as 1815 Robert Owen reduced hours from fourteen to twelve, including one and a quarter for meals, and employed no children under ten, with the result that his production was diminished by a mere trifle—a farthing in eighteen pence. He was convinced that it would probably after a time not be diminished at all. Robert Owen was far in advance of his age, but his conclusions were confirmed by the experience of many intelligent manufacturers, and the factory laws seem to have had much support among employers.

It is remarkable that the authors of this book do not perceive a repugnance in their arguments. They maintain that the Government should regulate the conditions of all work, whether in factories or homes, and even prescribe wages, on the ground that unregulated workmen will be used by employers as competitors with the regulated classes. In this way, it is contended, such employers get an unfair advantage. Their cost of production is lower, and their profits larger, so that they can command the market. This view is held so strongly by Mr. Sidney Webb, who furnishes an introduction to the book, as to lead him to declare that "the morass of sweating not only continues, but actually spreads." "The sweated trades remain, at the opening of the twentieth century, as free from any effective common rules as was the factory system at the beginning of the nineteenth." His belief is, apparently, that unless the conditions of all labor are to be prescribed by Government, it is hardly worth while to attempt any regulation. But to supervise all laborers would require so vast an army of inspectors that rulers shrink from the undertaking, while subjects might rebel at such interference with their liberties. The ideal of collectivism thus seems unattainable.

The repugnance alluded to appears when we find it demonstrated by the facts here set forth, and recognized by these authors as true, that cheap labor is dear labor. No doubt the contrary doctrine is dinned in our ears in this country; but we understand the motives of the cry, and the superior productiveness of our industry has become notorious. It follows that the competition of the weak, dissolute, ignorant, underfed, and diseased laborers is not to be feared by their superiors. To show that industry is most productive in the regulated trades, and then to insist that this industry must be protected against the "sweated" trades is absurd. The latter contention points directly to tariff protection against "foreign pauper labor."

The real issue in the controversies over labor regulation in England has been frequently obscured, and is apparently not understood by the writers of this book. It is not a question of the gains of capital or the productiveness of labor; as Cobden said of free trade, it was not the pounds, shillings and pence that interested him. The

question is whether social improvement will go on more wholesomely and naturally under the influence of men's reason and conscience, or under the compulsion of their rulers. If it be true, as is here abundantly proved, that employers prosper more when their laborers are prosperous, it is certainly not self-evident that this truth would not be practically recognized unless the Legislature enacted it. The condition of the laboring classes in England is shown by recent investigations to be far from satisfactory, and we cannot assume that more factory laws are what is needed to improve it. Other causes also must be considered in explaining such improvement as has taken place.

This history is of value chiefly as showing the fluctuations of public opinion, and of the opinion of particular classes, as the successive laws were enacted. We cannot, however, join Mr. Webb in praising the impartiality of the authors: it is hard to learn from them the real case of the opponents of legislation, and they wax almost incoherent with contempt for the "blank and unfruitful individualism" of the very earnest women who pleaded for what they considered the rights of their sex. We are disappointed, also, in the account given of the progress of legislation. It is with great difficulty that the changes accomplished by each act can be made out, and there is no summary or other statement enabling us to learn what the law now is, how it is enforced, and at what expense, or to how many persons it applies. So strong is the bias of the authors that their work is to be regarded rather as a collectivist tract than a history, although it contains much valuable matter. An appendix by Mr. G. H. Wood, on the course of women's wages during the last century, is well worthy of study.

Out of the Past: Some Biographical Essays.

By Rt. Hon. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff. 2 vols. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903.

These volumes consist of republished papers and addresses of unequal interest. The author's industry, learning, and experience are manifest throughout, and some of the matter is well worth preserving, especially the autobiographical "Recollections of the House of Commons, 1858-1881." This glance backward by a Liberal *emeritus* makes us feel the fitness of the title of the book. We are, indeed, dealing with a past world here, quite as much as we are in the essay on "Senior's Conversations"—a world which came to an end, however, only with the downfall of Gladstone less than a generation ago. The author speaks as an old man, no longer on the stage, whose political principles are in eclipse, but who still

has principles and standards of belief and action. He speaks also not merely as a veteran in English politics, but with the cosmopolitan tone which Englishmen acquire who have had much to do with the Government of India. Driven into the Conservative ranks by the split over the Irish question, he found retirement instead of distinction confronting him at the end of his career, and, as he very honestly says, this "was a heavy price to pay." But it has made him more impartial and, we may add, more interesting.

In this address there are a good many striking points—e. g., that unless the country really wants great changes, there must be a sort of paralysis in the party "of change and movement," and that Cobden's views about intervention have on the whole prevailed; the party in power in England for the time having come to drop the old lecturing and hectoring tone in foreign affairs, and to confine its attention generally to actual British interests rather than to doctrinaire or reactionary *Welt-Politik*. It is curiously true at the present moment that the attitude of all branches of the English Government to the United States is very like the attitude which Cobden would have approved, and this, although that Government is willing enough to be made the organ of a protectionist revival. Contrast the relations of the two governments today with what they were at the time of the Trent affair; the contrast marks a wonderful amelioration of the old insular Tory tone. The author respects Lord Salisbury's foreign policy, but not Disraeli's. The latter was neither a real Tory policy nor a genuine policy of any kind. It was a kind of sham Imperialism, just as Disraeli himself was a lifelong humbug.

A point is raised here which those who take a serious interest in questions of government will do well to ponder. The author says that no man ever obtained a real acquaintance with foreign affairs without spending a great deal of time abroad. Yet, if we go over the list of Englishmen who have played a spectacular part in Continental politics—Pitt, Palmerston, and Disraeli—we do not find that the influence they exerted was through study of or interest in foreign affairs at all. We might add to the list Chamberlain, who has inherited a good deal of the Disraeli glamour. The author is naïf on this subject. He is an honest rationalist, and forgets that mankind is, as he says on the next page, "a foolish creature." Statesmen of Lord Beaconsfield's calibre always bear this great truth in mind, and act upon it, too. To impute to the creature a constant rationality and rectitude is one of the common infirmities of noble minds. Philanthropists fall into it; politicians avoid it. Disraeli

neither believed in man, nor did his followers really believe in him. One of them summed up the controversy as to the comparative merits of the two great rivals by saying, "Well, well, I prefer our scoundrel to your lunatic."

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